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## AMERICAN CITIES DURING WAR TIMES

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

*Philadelphia*

OUR American cities have stood steadfast during these most critical times; they have functioned normally; they have co-operated vigorously and intelligently; they have helped generally.

So far as the record goes to date there has been no serious let-up in the prosecution of the normal municipal activities; although there has been a justifiable diminution of new undertakings because of the scarcity and diversion of labor, and the high price of materials. There has been a general recognition that it is not wise economy to postpone work that is necessary "to keep a pavement in good condition, to invite disease by failing to provide the necessary sewers and water supply to new sections of the city, to leave the city at the mercy of fire by neglecting to keep the pumping equipment in perfect repair and adequate in capacity, or to provide sufficient reliable hose, or to endanger health by failure to provide for sanitary disposal of refuse." If these things are needed they should be done, without, however, omitting any economies possible in planning and construction.

### INTEREST IN CITY PLANNING

As a natural corollary there has been an unprecedented interest in city planning and housing. The annual conferences of the two organizations devoted to these subjects, the one at Kansas City, the other at Chicago, were among the largest in their respective histories and the discussions showed how deep and how widespread was the interest, and the same observation may be made of our sister Canadian organizations and cities. The resolution adopted at the Winnipeg meeting of the Civic Improvement League of Canada embodied the thought that the provincial

<sup>1</sup>Annual address of the secretary, National Municipal League, Detroit, Mich., November 21, 1917.

governments be urged "to pass planning and development acts in all the provinces so as to secure that land will be laid out for purposes of economic use, health, convenience and amenity."<sup>2</sup>

At the National City Planning Conference in Kansas City it was repeatedly stated that, although the country must necessarily expend a large part of its energy at this time in war preparation, it is, nevertheless, highly important that city planning and replanning activities should not be put aside. Indeed, the importance of thorough town-planning is actually emphasized by present conditions. This fact is recognized in Europe to such a degree that plans have already been prepared for rebuilding the destroyed towns of France along lines determined by modern requirements.

The nations of Europe are placing themselves on a basis of efficiency which will continue after the war, and, if this country is to keep pace, from now on it must accept the facts and prepare to meet them. It is in the cities that commerce and industry are centralized and the results of organization—or the lack of it are most apparent there. No city can perform its function efficiently as a unit of any nation-wide organization unless wisely and carefully planned to meet its own special conditions, and our American cities are beginning to realize their duties and obligations along these lines.

France, who has set before the world during this war, so many and so varied examples of courage, patriotism and foresight, has set still another in the new *Loi Cornudet* which provides that every municipality shall organize a planning commission, which will decide on its future growth. Every improvement will have to conform to the city plan, whether it is

<sup>2</sup> The policy of the federal government is set forth in the following letter:

MR. WILL H. HAYS, *Chairman*,  
Indiana State Council of Defense,  
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The Council of National Defense has considered the question you raise in your recent letter as to the attitude which should be taken relative to improvements, public and otherwise, which involve large construction work, and recommends as follows:

Every effort that this country is capable of making should be applied to bringing the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The resources of the country in a general way may be said to consist of men, money and material, and during the period of the war any new enterprise or undertaking should be tried and justified by the test: Will the men, money and material so applied best contribute in this way to the winning of the war?

New enterprises which are not fundamental to the efficient operation of the country's necessary activities should not be undertaken. This will not result adversely upon business or conditions of employment because every man and every resource will be needed during the war. All efforts should be centered to help with the war.

NEWTON D. BAKER,  
*Secretary of War and Chairman*  
*Council of National Defense.*

October 1, 1917.

made in newly-developed territory, or replaces a construction of long standing and the whole development will be controlled by a central department of the national government in Paris. Paris itself, having outgrown the Haussmann plans, has organized a bureau which will care not only for the city, but for the whole metropolitan area.

If battle-torn and scarred France can take thought of the morrow, what of America which has yet to feel the pinch in any really serious degree?

#### HOUSING AS A WAR MEASURE

"As a war measure in itself, we must look to the housing of our workmen, which is just as important as the adequate and efficient housing of the troops. Both classes are on the firing line—the one on the battlefield and the other in industry—and both are indispensable to the cause." This is the deliberately expressed opinion of the secretary of the National Housing Association, who does not hesitate to declare further that victory for America may depend upon the solution of the housing problem in America. "It is up to us who know the situation," he has said, "to help the government solve it. The war has made acute a situation that has long been serious in our industrial centers, and the social dangers, which we would not recognize before, are more manifest than ever. Now with great manufacturing plants running at double capacity and men crowding into industrial centers to man them, we find that no adequate provision is made for their housing. In many places they sleep men in three shifts, using each bed twenty-four hours in the day, occupied by three different men, each having the bed for eight hours."

#### COMMUNITY HEALTH

The war program of the American Public Health Association brought vividly to the front not only the special problems of the army and the navy, but the special community problems which must be faced and solved if we are to have an effective army, an early peace and a wholesome aftermath. "The war may, and if we can make it, it should, stimulate the world to a realization of the existing possibilities in life and health conservation," declared Prof. Irving Fisher at the National Conference of Social Work at Pittsburgh.

To this phase of the problem our cities are likewise addressing themselves with devotion and intelligence, notwithstanding the depletion of the ranks of medical and health officers by the demands of the army and navy.

#### CO-OPERATION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the field of co-operation the cities have performed wonders. They have helped in the execution of the selective draft law; in the food conservation campaign; in the Red Cross work; in the various other cam-

paigns made necessary by the war not omitting the flotation of the two liberty loans. In addition to all of this, the cities on the seabards, and especially those on the Atlantic Coast, have prepared themselves, to a remarkable degree, for such emergencies as are likely to arise in the event of a prolongation of the contest or of a foreign invasion.

#### THE MORAL HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY

Would that as much could be said about activities designed to protect the morals of the communities and their war-added populations! While cities are planning wisely for the future; while they are discussing the housing and health problems of the present and the future; while they are co-operating to advance the several causes essential to the preservation and maintenance of our government, they must not forget the need for moral protection as well. The old idea that morality is only a personal affair dies hard. It is, to be sure, a personal affair, just as physical health and well-being are, but there is a community responsibility as well that cannot with safety be evaded or shirked. Its inherent difficulties afford no excuse for not facing it fairly and squarely.<sup>3</sup>

One of the great lessons we must take from this war is that war preparedness, like charity, as Caroline Bartlett Crane points out, begins at home, and whenever we strengthen the defenses of sobriety, chastity, personal honor and human decency in our home towns, we are powerfully strengthening our national defense against a foreign foe.

There is an encouraging side to the situation, however. At its meeting in May the Playground and Recreation Association of America declared for cities made ready to do their bit for the soldiers; communities prepared to offer our men in khaki recreational and social opportunities from which their desire to serve their country has suddenly cut them off; open houses and hospitality instead of a welcome only from open saloons and houses of ill repute; the mobilization of the social and recreational facilities of the communities near training camps for the soldier in his free time. The citizens of most of our communities, and quite frequently the cities themselves, are co-operating to give men living under abnormal conditions a substitute for home influence and "for the social, recreational

<sup>3</sup> "The attitude of the community has got to be continuous and growing in its hospitality and in its conscientious recognition of the right way of solving the problem of the soldier. These boys are going to France; they are going to face conditions that we do not like to talk about, that we do not like to think about. They are going into a heroic enterprise, and heroic enterprises involve sacrifices. I want them armed; I want them adequately armed and clothed by their government; but I want them to have invisible armor to take with them. I want them to have an armor made up of a set of social habits replacing those of their homes and communities, a set of social habits and a state of social mind born in the training camps, a new soldier state of mind, so that when they get overseas and are removed from the reach of our comforting and restraining and helpful hand, they will have gotten such a state of habits as will constitute a moral and intellectual armor for their protection overseas. You are the makers of that armor."—THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

and cultural features of normal life; of co-ordinating existing adjacent groups of people eager to be of service to city governments; of organizing all available forces; of utilizing all the communities' resources and calling into being new forces to meet new needs and new problems." The soldier of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow, and we want to preserve as much as possible of his strength, honor and decency.

#### THE CANTONMENTS: MODEL CITIES?

The cantonments afford a wonderful opportunity to teach a wholesome lesson in community living so far as such living can be accomplished without the spiritual co-operation and influence of women. They are each, to all practical intents and purposes, cities of 40,000 souls. They represent problems of housing, sanitation, feeding, discipline, amusement, morality, religion. Upon their successful management depends alike the safety and efficiency of our army and of our various communities.

#### SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND PHASES

In the field of social work we find a more cheerful note in that the anticipated let-up of social activities, governmental and organization, has not manifested itself. Taking a leaf out of England's experience very few states and cities have abandoned or modified the rules and regulations designed for the protection of workers and citizens generally, built up through long years of arduous effort and struggle. The National Conference on Child Labor closed its sessions at Baltimore with the conviction firmly established that whatever war measures this country is obliged to adopt there should be no let down in the standards for child protection. Time and again this note was struck as the vital necessity of continuing all efforts to further our American democratic ideals was pointed out. The lowering of standards abroad was used as an illustration of the fact that the excitement of war is fatal to the training and development of the younger generation and that social advance is retarded when childhood is impoverished.

A similar report may be made concerning other lines of social work: housing of labor, workmen's compensation, and conditions of labor generally. In point of fact there is a growing feeling that we are looking forward to a great socialized future and any backward step will militate against its harmonious and wholesome development. There is also a growing tendency to regard questions that have heretofore been solely regarded as political as having social import and significance. In the words of the social service commission of the (Episcopal) diocese of Pennsylvania in reference to the police scandals in the city of Philadelphia:

The fifth ward shame and tragedy has a far-reaching social significance which must not be overlooked. The use of the police powers of the

government for political ends is anti-social in the highest degree. Any policy which involves the use of the police and other officials of the government for any other than a public or community end results not only in a perversion of the power of government, but in the creation of a sentiment on the part of the poor and the ignorant that government exists not for the good of the community, but for the ends and purposes of a chosen few. Apart from the loss of life through the failure of the police to preserve the peace, not to speak of their direct connivance in the events leading up to the sad tragedy, which is a matter that is to be determined in a court of justice, the most distressing and humiliating features brought out at the hearings were those which revealed that the police were using their great powers to drive the poor and ignorant into the support of men contrary to their personal convictions and loyalties. When we consider the character of the population of the fifth ward made up of men, women and children who have sought these shores as a protection against governmental oppression and inequalities; when we consider that the federal, state and municipal governments are spending untold sums of money for the general improvement of their condition, and at the present time are engaged in a struggle, the basic principle of which is the establishment of democracy throughout the world; when we consider that the honor of this country is pledged to the maintenance of the higher political and social ideals the world over—we stand aghast at a political situation which tolerates for one moment a situation such as has been disclosed to exist in the fifth ward, and which in embryo at least exists wherever political organizations of the same stripe are permitted to exist. The perversion of the powers of government to any other end than that of the good of the community is a policy fraught with the utmost of danger to the continuance of free institutions and to the development of a sound social sentiment in the community.

#### THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN: A WAR MEASURE

"The city-manager plan is a war measure in all that the term implies. The sheer necessity of finding some way out of the present mess will compel the people to take action" is the way a New England editor described the movement for establishing improved governmental machinery in our cities. The facts fully justify the description. Never in the history of the National Municipal League has there been a more insistent demand for assistance in charter revision and never has there been more interest manifested in its Model City Charter. Until this year the discussion of the principles involved in this plan of government had been confined to the middle-sized and smaller cities, but now it is being seriously considered in the largest cities of the country: New York and Chicago.

At the beginning of his administration Mayor Mitchel and the board of estimate and apportionment appointed a charter committee, instructed to recommend changes in the organization. Various reasons contributed to the practical dissolution of the committee, but a member of the committee, Henry Bruère, submitted a "Plan of Organization for New York City," so that the mayor might "call the recommendations it contains to the attention of any subsequent charter committee." His proposed

reorganization was primarily directed toward "definitizing responsibility and providing more effective administrative machinery."

The outstanding features of his alternative plans were:

1. Further development of the mayor's office into one of policy guiding, general supervision and control, analogous to that of the president of a large corporation.
2. Development of the board of estimate as a board of direction in law as well as in fact, and the imposition on that board of a responsibility that it now regulates, but does not bear.
3. Development of a complete department of finance, centring full control over revenues, funds and disbursements, now to a large degree scattered.
4. Provision of centralized, responsible executive and administrative direction in the office of a city manager, subject to the control of the board of estimate and the supervision of the mayor.

The details of the appointment and consequent responsibility of the city manager, whether to the board or the mayor, is left for future consideration. The manager will have no responsibility for policies except as a requested adviser of the board. He will have nothing to do with the police department or with the civil service or law departments. The most radical change suggested involves the assumption by the board of estimate and apportionment of more complete responsibility for the effective management of the city.

In Chicago the proposition has been put forward by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency in the form of a bill for the reorganization of the municipal government, "the main purpose of which is to apply to Chicago a modified form of the city-manager plan of government, with non-partisan methods of electing aldermen." The bill also reduces the number of aldermen from 70 to 35, one alderman from each ward, and extends the term of aldermen to four years, subject to popular recall. Other features of the bill are incidental to these objects. Thus while "the nation is engaged in the great task of helping to make the world safe for democracy, we are reminded by the Chicago bureau of efficiency," says the *Chicago Post*, "that we have not yet made democracy safe for the city."

In these cities where the plan has been tried there has been a steady improvement in all administrative branches and a general feeling of satisfaction with the results. Certainly there has been no serious effort to undo what has been accomplished.

The town of Goldsboro, North Carolina, with a population of 11,000, widely advertised for a city manager, an experiment which has been fully reported in the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*.<sup>4</sup> "Twenty years ago, such an advertisement would have been considered a hoax," as the

<sup>4</sup> See vol. vi, p. 605.

Toledo *Blade* has editorially pointed out. "In those days, the management of a city was still a mere matter of getting the votes. Anyone was qualified who was a naturalized citizen. People were born to governing a community just as they were born to breathe God's air. The one was no harder than the other. No better sign of progress could be furnished than that citizens of a city, having each the right to serve as manager, should humbly confess their want of knowledge by advertising abroad for a qualified employe. Democracy does not demand that every man shall be recognized as divinely given to conduct office. It does demand that in government there shall be a broad application of common sense. And putting men in charge of cities who know their business, who have good judgment and broad vision, is common sense of the highest grade."

#### THE NEED FOR COMPETENT OFFICIALS

If we are to have carefully planned and adequately protected and developed cities, then we must have competent officials to administer them and herein is the strength of the city-manager movement for in it is involved the idea of executive efficiency and concentration of administrative responsibility along with representative legislative body charged with policy-determining responsibility.

A component part of any such plan must be a comprehensive merit system to secure the selection of competent officials to serve with the city manager. Some idea of the growth of this branch of the movement is to be found in the annual assembly of civil service commissioners, devoted to a consideration of the ways and means whereby such officials can be the most surely selected. It is not a propagandist body, but a technical one and each year registers an increased number of delegates present and a keener discussion of the details of selection. Hand in hand with this growth we must note the establishment, as in the Western Reserve University (Cleveland), of schools for training for municipal administration and public service, and official recognition of the need of such training in the passage by the Wisconsin legislature of a bill to establish a course in public training at the state university.

The most essential factors in fair and effective application of the merit principle in civil service continue to be the following: The examination and certification of eligibles, the system of promotion, the provision for removal, the constitution of the commission. As compared with the work of dividing and administering adequate and appropriate tests for attracting and selecting the best equipped persons for administrative offices, and giving them assurance of permanency of tenure and advancement according to proved fitness, all other phases of the work of civil service commissions are of supplementary and secondary significance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For an extended review of the development along these lines see F. W. Coker's survey of municipal civil service reports in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 692.

In a circular letter sent out last spring to its members, the National Municipal League asked these questions:

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN AFTER THE WAR?

"Did you ever stop to think what is going to happen after the war? Do you realize what the appropriation of billions of dollars by federal, state, county and city governments will mean to this country? Many think that because our economic condition is so good now that everything will be taken care of nicely later. In the history of the entire world a period of prosperous years has always been followed by lean ones. Does not exceptional spending by governments, exceptional prices for commodities, exceptional industrial conditions now, mean exceptional taxation and other exceptional problems later? Where will the burdens fall? Are we ready for them? Are we getting ready?"

"You will hear the cry of efficiency and economy in government louder than ever, especially when cities begin to broaden their functions and exercise new ones in coping with new problems, when seen. But they should be foreseen. Someone has to point them out and lead the way, and it is up to us to apply ourselves to this task."

This the League has been doing and as a consequence its services have never been in more demand. This has been largely due to the fact that the rapidly increasing burdens of federal and state taxation have made economy and efficiency of the greater importance. This has by no means been reflected in the election results in the larger cities, but it is bound to be reflected in more careful attention to tax rates and expenditures. Another factor has been pointed out by the investment bankers association: Citizens in many parts of the country are beginning to realize the wrong which has been imposed on this generation by corrupt and careless municipal financing in the past, and have decided not to place a similar load upon the shoulders of their children. Moreover, they see that methods of the past, if continued, would soon make it impossible for their cities to borrow money at all on moderate terms.

Another significant indication of the trend is the fact that in 1916 cities throughout the country borrowed \$502,800,000 in long term loans as compared to \$492,500,000 in 1915. This shows an increase of only \$10,000,000 in the total amount of loans over the preceding year as compared to an average increase of \$50,000,000 for the three years.

The truth is even more favorable than the figures indicate. According to a prominent New York investment broker, who is in close touch with municipal conditions in all parts of the country, a great many cities have been more than usually hesitant in the last two years about incurring new expenses, so that the total amounts of bond issues for these years represent a greater proportion than usual of loans refunding old issues.

The citizen demand for better municipal administration, in the judg-

ment of this association of investment bankers, is growing in almost all parts of the country, while the powerful interest of the financial backers of cities is with the citizens in the fight. The signs of the times spell progress.

#### WASTE AND EXTRAVAGANCE

In his speech on the federal deficiency bill, Senator Martin, of Virginia, in no uncertain tones declared that

We must call a halt in extravagance. We must keep within due bounds, and we must not appropriate money that is not essential. We have had quite a number of deficiency bills during this session of Congress. I hope to God this is the last. If we keep on, we had better turn the whole resources of the country without anything more than three lines over to the administrative departments of the government and let them take what they need and spend what they choose. It has come to be a perilous situation. Over \$20,000,000,000 in five months! At the pace we are going, if the war lasts another year, \$50,000,000,000 will be required. And where is it to come from? Is our country to be impoverished for generations? Yes, if it is necessary to prosecute the war. But, in God's name, do not let us do it unless it is absolutely necessary.

These words may with equal force and effect be applied to our city financing and during the next five years will be. For the federal and state burdens will go on increasing even should the war be happily ended before that time.

Indeed similar words found utterance in some of the state legislatures during their recent sessions. In supporting his budget bill in the New York assembly, Senator Wagner said:

Every city council, every state legislature and congress itself might do well to consider the new plan of budget making which I have proposed for the state of New York . . . an adaptation of the system employed by the British parliament suggested by President Lowell of Harvard University.

The governor of New York has adopted an admirable program of publicity to justify spending the money of the state, but publicity alone does not solve the problem of public waste. When the governor presents a budget calling for the expenditure of \$68,000,000, how many citizens, to say nothing of the legislators themselves, have either the expert knowledge or the time to analyze the figures and determine whether or not the proposed expenditures would be justified? Publicity for extravagance which is not detected is a convenient method of passing on to the public the responsibility for the waste.

City councils and boards of aldermen present similar conditions to those found in state legislative bodies. Members of the faction in power are loath to curtail the expenditures of their own department heads. Minority finance committees should be appointed by the heads of city governing bodies as a check upon the expenditures proposed by the majorities and empowered to employ experts to investigate proposed appropriations. The principle involved is one capable of broad application.

Such opposition committees would depend not only upon their own investigations for exposing waste, but would afford those citizens who desire economy an opportunity for telling what they know. Chambers of commerce and independent business men, too often fearing to incur the disfavor of the politicians in power, are silent, whereas they would gladly lodge their complaints with a minority committee which would be eager to take them up.

I am sure that this would greatly encourage the application of business principles to spending the public's money. The question is—do the public want economy sufficiently to demand it vigorously enough to get it?

These are the words, not of a representative of a bureau of research or a reform body, but of the leader of the Democrats in the New York senate, elected on a Tammany ticket!

#### STATE AND COUNTY AFFAIRS

This speech of Senator Wagner brings to mind the work which has been inaugurated to reorganize state and county affairs, as well as those of the cities. The latter are no longer neglected—although still requiring the closest of attention and almost infinite patience. The past year has seen forward steps in state reorganization in Illinois and Kansas, with important developments in several others. Likewise the county, so long "the dark continent of politics," is beginning to claim a share of attention. The determination of the National Municipal League to give consideration to these two phases of governmental activity has been received with approval. References to these to the uninitiated may seem out of place in a review of American cities during war times, but to those who know by experience how closely interlaced the state, county and city, their appropriateness is at once obvious. City government cannot be segregated from state and county government and any attempt to do so will add to the difficulties of an already serious situation.

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Politically speaking, the events of the year have been far from encouraging. They illustrate if that were necessary that the "war has not disposed of the city bosses as yet." The defeat of Mayor Mitchel was no doubt the result of the inevitable reaction which follows exceptionally useful and progressive administrations. At the same time it is discouraging; one is almost tempted to say disheartening. It brings to mind these words of M. Marmontel in "Belisaire" (published in 1796): "Whoever devotes himself to the service of his country, should suppose her insolvent; for what he hazards for her is inestimable. But he must at the same time expect to find her ungrateful: for whoever looks for a reward for a free and generous sacrifice of himself, is foolishly inconsistent. . . . The allurements of ambition: honors, titles, rank, . . . what are they but wages? He who desires them has his hire.

We must either give or sell ourselves, there is no other alternative. The former is the act of freedom, the latter of slavery: you, gentlemen, will incline to that which agrees best with the propensities of your hearts."

Experience leads one to believe that much of the good which has been accomplished during the past eight years covering the administrations of Gaynor and Mitchel will continue and that then there will come another great surge forward and still further advances gained and held.

At the same time how must our gallant youth that have gone to the front feel, when the greatest city of the land deliberately hands her whole government over to men who have shown time and again that they think first of their organization and secondly and often remotely of their community.

Here is how a Philadelphia boy thought about the situation in that city:

George wanted to know what could be done to help out "over here." I will write and tell of anything I see; but one thing is sure—that there is no fun in fighting to save democracy for a lot of grafting politicians, and nothing would put more "pep" into me than to know that the people at home were awake to their civic responsibilities. While I believe that eventually we will win out, we have a hard job on our hands and graft is as much of a foe as autocracy.

#### ABANDONMENT OF PARTY LINES

Philadelphia's reply is no more encouraging than New York's—but the situation is not uniformly bad throughout the country. In the vast majority of the commission- and city-manager cities party lines have disappeared and there are now over five hundred such communities. In California party lines have practically disappeared in city campaigns. Even in New York and Philadelphia, leading politicians identified with their respective parties have abandoned these parties in local contests. Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles E. Hughes, and William H. Taft openly supported the re-election of Mayor Mitchel and in Philadelphia no less a person than the Republican national committeeman, Senator Penrose, openly repudiated the Republican tickets and supported the Town Meeting ticket.

Dayton, Ohio, affords a very striking contrast to the metropolitan cities of the Atlantic coast. She has, by a substantial majority, endorsed her city manager charter and the admirable execution of it. At the primaries the Socialists on a light vote polled the largest vote, the opposition being divided. At the general election on November 6, however, the opposition was united and the vote in favor of the sitting members of the commission was substantial. The lowest man on the Citizens' ticket received 2,841 more votes than the highest man on the Socialist ticket.

Springfield, Ohio, is another city which by an equally substantial

majority endorsed the city manager idea and its very excellent local embodiment. Progress in the smaller cities, especially those of the central and far west is much more rapid and substantial than in the larger cities of the east. In fact, political progress in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago is only intermittently encouraging, whereas in most of the smaller communities of the country, and especially in the section mentioned, a larger measure of persistence is shown.

In writing to a city clerk the assistant secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities said:

Sometimes, when I sit back in my chair, I think over the different temperaments of our municipal men between the Atlantic and Pacific; of their ideals, their aspirations, and their ways of striving to attain their ends.

The westerner hustles and pushes, and thinks the east is mighty slow. The easterner goes slow (apparently) and quietly smiles at the western hustle and wear of energy.

It is all very interesting to one in close touch with municipal men in the east, middle, and west, of our wonderful country. As I have said before I say with greater emphasis again—municipal men, our Canadian municipal men are the virile, active men of Canada, the men with ideals, public spirited, and the real backbone of our political institutions.

They get many kicks and cuffs, and heaps of slander from the incompetent, the indifferent, and the incapable; and from a host of community parasites.

However, general public opinion has advanced wonderfully of late, and we all are just beginning to find out that whole-hearted interest in municipal affairs is the foundation stone of all good government.

#### THE NEED OF A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

Something more than reform by protest or town meetings is necessary. There must be a constructive program persistently followed up. The political organizations set an example which reformers should follow. In many places they have, and in those places the results abundantly justify the effort. The politicians are always "on the job," the day after quite as much as the day before. Their machine is always in order. They know what they want and they go after it—usually until they get it. They vote rainy days as well as bright ones. They vote their full strength at unimportant as well as important elections—but what of the Independents and reformers? In Philadelphia there were 50,000 men who were qualified, who failed to register and 50,000 who qualified who failed to vote. Half of either group would have repudiated the brutal practices of the dominant faction and both together would have administered a rebuke from which there would have been no recovery. There is just one phrase for those 100,000—civic slackers!

There are certain municipal conditions which militate against efficiency in time of peace as well as in war. Indifference to duty is one of them. Another is the failure to recognize duties as well as rights.

## STEADFASTNESS OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

There is a silver lining, however, to these clouds. It consists of the steadfastness with which the volunteer civic organizations are holding their grounds. They represent the regular army of civic advance. In the face of war they have shown no slightest intention to yield an inch of ground or to retire from their positions. They have added war-time duties to their regular ones. Their officers are serving the government in various capacities, but they have not given up their civic duties. They have added to the sum total of public patriotic duty. They have not substituted one form of it for another. "True municipal reform is based on actual knowledge," to use the words of the Detroit civic league, "of actual conditions. The plan is to secure better conditions by a progress which shall be permanent, not temporary. The municipal revival has given way to the personal work of the man who makes a science of the task of government, who is not afraid to co-operate with officeholders who are honest and who are doing the best they can with the antiquated machinery with which they have to work." The league might have added that they add to a stern sense of public duty an enlightened comprehension of method and a persistency of endeavor that will in the long run win the battle for civic decency and efficiency, to all of which is being added a sense of community dependency and co-operation which is making solidly and definitely for real democracy.

MUNICIPAL PENSIONS<sup>1</sup>

BY LAWSON PURDY  
*New York*

**I**N MAKING an address as president of the League I did not a year ago and I shall not to-day attempt to review what has been done by the cities of the country during the past year because for many years the secretary of the League has so well performed that function.

A year ago I selected two subjects which seemed to me of importance and present interest. This year I propose to develop somewhat a subject concerning which I have a few words to say and that is municipal pensions—pensions of all kinds. I speak of that to-day because more and more that subject is pressing upon the people of the cities of the United States and because, on account of the war, it is being pressed upon the government of the United States.

The action of congress furnishes a text for an address on pensions because congress has adopted an entirely new course. All of you know that after the Civil War the United States started a system of pensioning

<sup>1</sup> Presidential address at the twenty-third annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Detroit, Mich., November 21, 1917.

disabled soldiers and dependent relatives of soldiers who had been killed. We know that in the years since the Civil War we have spent annually a greater and greater sum until very recently, and that in the aggregate the amount expended for pensions by the United States on account of the Civil War has reached enormous figures.

#### A NEW PRECEDENT

Congress, having that history in mind, apparently has decided that the provision for those who are maimed in battle and for the dependents of those who may be killed, shall be made once for all by means of insurance. It seems that congress does not propose to settle upon later generations a large part of the expense of this war in the manner in which it was imposed after the Civil War. Probably very few people in the United States realize the expense that lies ahead of them if the plans are carried out for pensioning civil servants that will be proposed in the course of the next few years.

For a good many years some cities of the country, not few in number, have been making some provision for aged and infirm firemen, policemen and school-teachers. Soon all cities will be doing that and many cities will be doing more. In the city of New York we have started to make provision for widows having small children to bring up. Recently seven states have appointed commissions to consider the whole subject of the care of aged and dependent persons. In doing so they are only following the example of some European countries that have already inaugurated such a policy.

#### NEW YORK'S COMMISSION

Recently a commission in the city of New York made an exhaustive report on the pension systems then in force in the city of New York and within the year a commission of the state of Illinois has reported upon the pension systems of Illinois. Both of these reports, the report in the city of New York and the report for the state of Illinois, show that in not one single city of the United States that has established provision for aged and infirm policemen, firemen, school-teachers or others was the system based on sound actuarial principles.

The city of New York, for a long time, made a provision of 2 per cent of the pay-roll to be set aside for firemen and I think for policemen and then certain increments to the fund were provided from certain sources of revenue,—a very careless, utterly inaccurate method of making provision.

At the time these reports were made these pension funds were either absolutely insolvent or on the verge of insolvency. The reports set forth the experience of foreign governments and foreign cities and the best actuarial computations in this country which show substantially the

same thing, namely, that the cost of such pensions for the aged and infirm civil servants themselves and such provision as has been made for their dependents adds about 30 to 35 per cent to the pay-roll.

There is no city in the country that would contemplate at once establishing a system that would call for an addition to the expense of city government of 30 per cent of the pay-roll, but that is what they are facing if they establish the pension systems that to a considerable extent are now in force and that are proposed.

Usually they only propose a retiring allowance of 50 per cent of pay received in active service, or less than 50 per cent. It would be quite worthless for me to stand here and tell you these things if I had nothing to propose that would help to solve the problem that must be met, for these pension plans will be established and in my own judgment they ought to be established.

It might be worth while to say just a few words about why they ought to be established. It is practically the universal testimony of those familiar with the personnel of city departments and national and state departments as well, that because administrators have hearts they keep in the service old men and perhaps to some degree old women, too, if we have women in the civil service. Formerly we had not many; we will have many as time goes on. They keep these old men in the service long after they are able to earn in proportion to their pay.

In my own department in the city of New York we have had old men whose places were, after their death, filled for one-third the annual salary by men who did twice the work. Now just see how much cheaper it would be if those figures are 50 per cent true to retire the old man on half pay and hire a man for less than half of his former pay to do the work better and do more work than he did in his declining years!

#### PENSIONS A MATTER OF EFFICIENCY

From the point of view of mere efficiency in government and economy in government, it is better to pension the person who is really superannuated or infirm and hire a substitute for him than it is to keep him on at the old rate of pay. Beyond that, however, we all know that persons in receipt of small incomes (and 95 per cent of city employes are in receipt of small incomes) are unable or at least unwilling systematically to lay aside a sufficient sum to care for themselves in their old age. We are confronted with that absolute condition and I think beyond any question of doubt, the cities of the United States in time, and no very long time, will make provision for pensioning their old, worn-out employes.

It is the experience in all countries, so these reports tell us, that employes who are hired with the expectation that they will be cared for in old age regard that old age care as part of their pay and really it is part

of their pay. There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether the person hired should be paid a fixed sum and his employer, the city, should contribute all of the amount in addition that is necessary to provide him with a pension or whether the employe should receive a larger sum and be compelled himself to contribute or whether that amount should be divided.

In my opinion that question is entirely immaterial as to new hirings and new contracts. It is material as to the old ones because we have here clerks hired at a hundred dollars a month or seventy-five dollars a month or a hundred and fifty dollars a month or more and if part of the pay they are now receiving is taken from them for their future pension, it is material to the city and material to the employe; but in future contracts, so long as the pay is no more than adequate for the service and in addition to the pay that is received now, there is deferred payment in the form of pension for the future, whether you call it contribution of the employe or contribution of the city is entirely immaterial.

All the employees have come to feel (where these systems have been enforced) that what they were receiving was deferred payment. It is very material, however, how much this is going to cost the cities of the country and whether the burden will be a continuing burden and so hamper all the cities of the country in their effort to do other things than care for their own employes.

#### ACCRUED LIABILITIES AND NEW CONTRACTS

Last year I made a proposal which has never been tried out by any public body so far as I am aware, that when we establish a pension system we should distinguish between new employes and old, between what the insurance people call accrued liabilities and new contracts, and should make such provision for the new employes that the expense after a few years would be a decreasing expense instead of an increasing one.

It can be demonstrated that for the same sum that must be appropriated to provide pensions under the present plan the same pensions can be paid by preserving intact as principal, every dollar that is paid in, and using exclusively the income of that capital fund.

There is one objection that is made to this plan; that employes who remain in the city service too short a time to receive a pension feel that they should receive back upon retirement all or part of the sum that has been paid into the pension fund for their account. That objection can be met under the plan that I propose, the retirement from the service of any employe need not deprive him of any benefit that he has expected to receive by continuing in the service until his retiring age. What should be done, I think, is this:

For every employe there should be paid into the pension fund a sum adequate to produce the result which would be no more than the sum

necessary on any plan that has heretofore been proposed. It appears that it will take about 15 per cent of the pay-roll to care for the employes themselves. The other 15 per cent is required to take care of their dependents. If there is set aside 15 per cent of the pay-roll for every employe and that sum is put at interest, invested in the bonds of the city, let us say, or in such other safe security as will adequately protect the fund, and the bonds pay 4 per cent, in about thirty-five years there will be a fund sufficient to pay more than half salaries to all the survivors.

This plan does not contemplate caring for the dependents of these employes. That is another proposition which can be cared for in the same manner but I am talking now solely of the cost of caring for the employes of the city themselves after they have reached the retiring age.

A year ago I had been able to obtain the assistance of the actuary of one of the large insurance companies who made certain computations for me. I hope some time to carry those computations out so as to have a variety of illustrations. Those figures showed that if men entered the service at the average age of twenty-five years and served for forty-five years, 10 per cent of the pay-roll would give every man who retired 95 per cent of the salary that he had been receiving, substantially his whole salary.

If, instead of setting aside 10 per cent, 15 per cent were set aside, it is obvious that that point would be reached at a somewhat earlier age and if only half pay were given it would be reached at a much earlier age.

This computation shows further that after such a system had been in force in any city for a period of from fifty to seventy-five years, no further contributions on the part of the city would be necessary; the fund itself would provide an annual income adequate to pay all pensions and further adequate to pay the increment that would be necessary to care for the enlargement of the force provided the city did not grow with too great rapidity. In that event, it would only be a matter of a few more years before the increment would care for all the dependents.

#### RETIREMENTS AND WITHDRAWALS

If a man retires from the city service to take other employment he should be allowed to continue paying into the pension fund so that he should receive the same benefits as any other employe of the city. If he didn't choose to pay in further into the pension fund, he should be allowed to draw in proportion, at the time he had reached retiring age, to the amount that he had paid into the pension fund or that had been paid in for him. If he had served the city for ten years and 15 per cent of his pay had been turned into the pension fund, when he reached retiring age he could have the earnings of that fund; he never would lose anything by having had some sum paid into the pension fund for his benefit.

Once having established such a system for city employes, there would

be no objection and there would be very great advantage in allowing every citizen that saw fit to do so to become a participant in that pension fund by paying into it such sums as might be found administratively convenient and practical. Then it would be within the power of every person in the city to provide for his old age at the minimum of expense and with the utmost certainty that he never would lose the sum that he had paid into the care of the city.

Can you imagine anything which would give the citizens of the city a greater interest in their city than that every one of them, by his own efforts, might become a participant in a great system of provision for old age for the time when he can no longer work?

The same system will apply, perforce, should it be adopted to the care of all those who might become dependent upon the city's bounty and they would be paying their own way and taking care of themselves in their old age under such conditions as they saw fit instead of being turned into great institutions which, however good they may be, are not like one's own home.

I can hardly hope in the course of a few moments to convey to you this idea of the solidarity of all the people of the city and the possibilities that this holds out in the way in which it has grown upon me through thinking of it for many years. If, by this brief presentation, I can start some one here from some city in the country to taking this subject so to heart that some city may start this system, I have perfect confidence that it will grow and spread from city to city, from state to state and to the nation itself so that all the federal employes shall in this fashion be enabled to have a certain provision for the future and so that within a brief span of time, as history is measured, it shall be without present expense to the inhabitants of the United States.

## WAR TIME EXPERIENCES OF CANADIAN CITIES<sup>1</sup>

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, K.C.  
*Montreal, Canada*

**I**N THAT intercommunication which is of late years constantly taking place between the municipalities of the United States and those of Canada, largely through the National Municipal League and the Union of Canadian Municipalities—which I represent—our cities of Canada usually look to yours for experiences. But in the case of experiences of the present war we find the rule reversed. No sooner had you come

<sup>1</sup> Opening remarks of Mr. Lighthall as chairman of the session of the National Municipal League meeting at Detroit, November 23, 1917, on "War Time Experiences of Canadian Cities."

into the conflict than your military leaders appeared at our review grounds and at our officers' training corps; your gallant soldiers were seen fraternizing with our kilts on the streets; we lent you military instructors of all ranks and services familiar with actual fighting at the front, and our returned soldiers were frequently called to your public meetings to describe the situation in Belgium and France. And to-day some of us dwellers in the larger communities in Canada have been asked to come here and try to tell something that might help your communities from what we have seen and felt during these last sad but glorious three years and a quarter.

#### FIRST EFFECT OF THE WAR

The first effect of the war upon us is something you will never have,—a stunned sense of disastrous surprise. You also were surprised at that time, but you were not yet struck. You had some stock exchange panic, it is true, but we had far more; we knew we were actually plunged into a stupendous conflict, for which we were absolutely without preparation. For months our banks shut down on even the most ordinary enterprises. One banker expressed it—"We may all go to pot together." A well-known capitalist sat in tears in a leading club of Montreal after vainly trying to raise a few thousand dollars to save hundred of thousands of good property. "I have lost everything: I am entirely ruined," he moaned. And he was but a type of many. But the general commercial panic—fortunately soon surmounted—was but secondary to other things, the military anxiety over the fateful fighting in France, the possibilities of invasion at home, of explosions, of destruction of our canals, railways, and buildings, and above all the anxiety over our sons and other relatives destined for the front. But the blood that runs in our veins and yours is not given to fear or loss of will. We immediately gathered thirty-three thousand eager young men in khaki and shipped them to England, with the pledge of more. We were pleased to learn that you watched their progress as kinsmen. There were not a few of you among even those immortal first crusaders. They could not resist the call of chivalry and liberty.

Then first we knew what war, though far off, meant in our cities. The wrench of the heart of the mother, and then her noble pride in the sacrifice of her son; the young wife's fears, but her trust in her brave man; the father's silent consent; the forebodings and excitements of parting. Afterwards the feverish interest in every incident of the war affecting in any way "our boy." All these you have lately had like ourselves. And here I can say something that will help each anxious parent. Do not read the news of every fight with the thought that your boy may have come to harm. On the contrary you may conclude that nothing has hurt him. Because, assuming that your war department system is like ours, the earliest news of a casualty to him will come to yourself by a govern-

ment telegram before the newspapers get it. Unless and until, therefore, a telegram has come to you, assume that all is well.

#### WAR TIME CASUALTIES

Another fact may also help you. We read in the newspapers of many accidents every day. But in actual life serious accidents are rare. So it is with war. One reads the lists of killed and wounded, but forgets that the vast majority of the army survives. The deaths and cippings are bad. I do not wish to minimize them. But they are apt to be overestimated and make us unduly depressed. The total deaths of our first contingent (the 33,000) are about 8 per cent in three years. In civil life about 3 per cent of them would have died anyway. Their deaths by the war were therefore one in twenty in those three years. Should the war last another year, then at the same rate your first contingent might lose one in sixty. And during the winter it ought not to be one fourth of that, because winter is not a fighting season.

Yet with all these deductions, we have had sad and grave times. To send 400,000 (soon to be 500,000) men overseas has made a drain upon our manhood equal to five or six millions from the United States. Consequently, the daily list of casualties mean much to every community. Blow after blow falls every few days. Some bright and generous youth, who a short time ago was our happy neighbor, dies in some heroic effort. We shudder at the fall of the stroke upon the unhappy mother and father. We reverence them and their signs of mourning. But each time the carrying on of the war becomes in us a deeper and deeper religion, so that the lives of our heroes shall not have been laid down in vain. We have come to regard earthly things as mattering little, and to live for glorious ideas, like the resolves of men of former great days. Our feelings, we think, resemble those of the height of your Civil War. Your present generation have yet to fully understand these stern and solemn feelings. Your oldest G. A. R. men understand them. Our churches are decorated with allied flags and "Rolls of Honor." Alas, too, memorial tablets are increasing. At the end of each service the congregation standing at attention sings a stanza of "God Save the King"; and at times, the new stanza:

God save our splendid men,  
Send them safe home again:  
God save our men.  
Send them victorious,  
Patient and chivalrous;  
They are so dear to us,  
God save our men.

#### ORGANIZING FOR THE WORK

Our experiences in the way of organizing to meet the various demands of the war have been many. Let me give a sketch of what has been done

in the city of Montreal, whose population is about 800,000. Montreal differs from most of our places in that it is not the city hall which is the center of patriotic action but the Canadian club. It is in this ever active body that are hatched the whirlwind campaigns for the Canadian patriotic fund, for the Red Cross, and for the war loans. The Red Cross and the war loans you are familiar with—but the work of the Canadian patriotic fund is unique. It is an immense voluntary organization which keeps the wife and family of the soldier in comfort during his absence. Its whole management is perfect down to the smallest detail and it is a treat to go into the large offices and watch the despatch of innumerable applications, complaints and inquiries under the leadership of a wonderful woman, Miss Helen Reid. It has collected and administered in Montreal alone over \$3,500,000. An interesting fact is that it is entirely managed by women, none of whom had previous business experience. The problem of affording club homes for the numerous uniformed men in the city is attended to by the khaki league, a voluntary institution peculiar to Montreal, and which runs many departments very popular with the soldier. Hospitals are chiefly provided by the government by means of the hospital commission, but volunteer aid detachment nurses (V. A. D.'s) have done a great deal in private institutions, together with professional nurses, some of whom have gratuitously given their time and skill.

The large numbers of returned men give rise to several other problems—such as re-educational classes for those whose wounds and mutilated limbs unfit them for their former employment. Those gassed and shell-shocked also present serious questions. They start at sudden sounds, fight battles in their dreams and require very sympathetic treatment. One question of deep importance has been how to see to it that the soldier, his sacrifices, and his war aims shall not be forgotten in the years after the war. Some of us thought the solution to have been reached by your Grand Army of the Republic. We have, therefore, aided in forming The Great War Veterans' Association which now numbers between twenty and thirty thousand and will probably when peace arrives contain four hundred thousand. It already promises to be one of the most powerful of the new influences in Canadian life. It has been imitated in Australia, and ultimately the hope is that all soldiers of the allies will be linked together in The Great War Veterans of the World. The most precious of all honors is to wear the gilt wound stripes and the button of the returned soldier.

With all our losses, our anxieties, and our stern and serious days, no Canadian worthy of the name will ever regret that our boys sprang by instinct to the help of the oppressed and took up the battle for the common liberties of mankind. You also, men and women of our blood, were bound to be there. We felt you could not keep out of it, although the

stupid Hohenzollern, true to type, took your long tried patience for fear of his might.

Throughout all these conditions the place and office of municipal authorities is plain. It is to lead and to co-operate in all movements of relief and action.

## WAR TIME EXPERIENCES OF TORONTO, CANADA

BY HIS WORSHIP, MAYOR T. L. CHURCH

*War-time Mayor of Toronto*

**T**HIS subject is a large one to deal with at all in an adequate way. When war broke out Canada was unprepared to meet conditions and dislocations, which resulted, but recovered itself very quickly. Toronto is a city of 486,000 in population at present, with an area of about twelve miles along Lake Ontario by ten miles inland, and is almost entirely built up. Our city has sent already in the neighborhood of 60,000 soldiers overseas to fight in Flanders and in France, under the voluntary system.

War has made many changes in our city. A municipality in war time must cease spending money on local improvements and stop its capital expenditures as far as possible, except for works under construction. It should be careful not to add to the capital debt except for works which are revenue producing and absolutely necessary.

Returned soldiers should be given the preference in all civic positions exclusively.

The city should insure its soldiers who enlist in this fight for humanity. Every resident of Toronto receives one thousand dollars cash indemnity from the city.

The work of many civic departments is multiplied in war time, while in the public works department the work is lessened. The police department is overworked in war time. They have to assist the federal and state authorities as well as look after aliens and alien enemies.

Our larger cities, in winter, become a training camp for soldiers. Cities give city properties free to the government for camps for soldiers, and the city's own car lines carry the soldiers free, although the private street railway company here makes them pay a fare.

Unemployment is very largely eliminated. Owing to the work provided by munition plants and other war works labor is at a premium.

The city should take the lead in all patriotic work, such as Red Cross and patriotic funds, assisting them in every way possible. The best that a city can give the soldiers is none too good for them for all they are going to suffer for us. In Toronto the returned men are met by a band,

given a civic welcome and taken to their homes in automobiles, and otherwise looked after, and as soon as discharged are found suitable positions.

Employers of labor and manufacturers when their employes return from the front should not expect 100 per cent of efficiency from them and should not reduce them to a minor position at lesser pay, for were it not for the soldier to-day the manufacturers' business would be nowhere in such a war as this.

The coal and food situation may be materially relieved by civic co-operation and the city should by joint action assist the federal and state government in regulating prices, and also in the fuel and food situations.

Proper guards should be placed on all public property. They have a twenty-four hour a day guard on our waterworks and on other public buildings. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. At the beginning of the war we had a military guard, but this has been substituted by a civil guard under the control of the police department.

Officers of all ranks should not forget that the soldier of to-day is a civilian. The men should be treated properly, not as inferiors. This is a democratic country and the men have left their civil positions for the good of the colors and civilization. While discipline is necessary there should be a democratic spirit between the officers and men of all ranks.

The people are severally taxed by federal and state enactments and while the municipality's expenditures are doubled for war purposes, their revenues are becoming depleted all the time; but the assessment of the city in war time should as much as possible not be interfered with. The province imposed a war tax of one mill on the dollar per annum on the assessment of the city.

We have 60,000 soldiers from Toronto on active service, but only some 50,000 are included in the civic insurance inasmuch as they had not all been residing in the municipality prior to 1914.

The city should assist the soldiers in seeing that they get proper transports, assist in notifying their relatives, have a civic bureau to look after the soldiers' wants and needs. The city should pay the difference between the military pay and the civic salaries of its own employes who have joined the colors, while they are on active service.

The war is a gigantic affair and rigid economy should be practiced. American cities should not make the great mistake that Toronto has made of assuming too many federal responsibilities. Toronto has spent vast sums to assist recruiting which the federal government should have paid. We have given over to the government a ten-million dollar property known as the Canadian National Exhibition Grounds and buildings to house the troops for eight months of the year.

Preparations to receive the returned men should be made, as in less than a year they will be coming back in large numbers to the United States wounded and medically unfit. Now is the time to prepare a hos-

pital scheme and local hospitals to take care of the situation before it is too late.

Sports in war time are not a luxury, but a necessity. They help perfect the training of the troops. The troops in training must have some recreation, and in each military district there is a military sporting programme for all seasons of the year on a large scale. It is a good thing to have a sportsmen's patriotic association in each city to collect funds from the theatres and elsewhere to provide Christmas presents for the men overseas and their children and dependents at home. The sending of sporting goods to the training camps and to the men overseas is a commendable form of help. Soldiers should have their own military police to deal with breaches of discipline on the streets, especially in the evenings. Our civil police do not interfere with the soldiers. They are left to their own military police to deal with them. Two hundred and fifty soldiers each night patrol the streets all over the city for a few hours, and they look after their own men, although the conduct of the troops has been most admirable.

The curtailment of sports in war time is a mistake, although the money collected from sports should go to patriotic uses.

The railways should give cheap fares to the soldiers for week-end trips.

Adequate leave should be given to the married men with the colors from time to time in the training camps to visit their families, on week-end passes. The authorities should not forget that while discipline is necessary, the men in training have families and home ties. Liberal leave and passes should be given at all times, but not to interfere with the training. Arrangements should be made by the city to get information re casualties and have the news properly announced to the suffering families.

The women's organizations of the city are the backbone "in keeping the home fires burning,"—as it were. Toronto has made a splendid showing in regard to money contributions—the best of the cities in His Majesty's overseas dominions. The women encouraged their men to enlist, and did not make it hard for them to do so. They also did great work in the Red Cross and other patriotic campaigns.

All contributions for patriotic purposes should be under civic control. If not some fraud is bound to be practiced on the public. A license should be obtained from the chief of police or other civic agency before anyone is authorized to collect for patriotic purposes. This will prevent overlapping and any imposition on the public from countless appeals.

The commercial men and manufacturers have done nobly in this war, and vie with each other as to who can do most for their employes with the colors. The churches and the pulpit have also done splendid work and their co-operation is most essential and necessary, also the school children and the boy scouts and other fraternal societies.

Military hospitals should be provided for in the cities with lots of surrounding grounds. Every city should have a large base hospital for its troops in training and those returning.

The following is a summary of the war disbursements and liabilities assumed by the city of Toronto since the war started amounting to over \$7,000,000.

WAR DISBURSEMENTS AND LIABILITIES OF CITY OF TORONTO, TO OCTOBER 31, 1917

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Insurance of soldiers.....                          | \$2,680,087.55 |
| 2. Canadian patriotic fund.....                        | 300,000.00     |
| 3. Canadian patriotic and Canadian Red Cross fund..... | 500,000.00     |
| 4. British Red Cross.....                              | 250,000.00     |
| 5. Overseas Y. M. C. A. fund.....                      | 25,000.00      |
| 6. Canadian Red Cross.....                             | 20,504.40      |
| 7. Italian Red Cross.....                              | 5,000.00       |
| 8. French Red Cross.....                               | 2,500.00       |
| 9. Belgian relief fund.....                            | 25,000.00      |
| 10. Palestine war relief fund.....                     | 2,500.00       |
| 11. British sailors relief fund.....                   | 25,000.00      |
| 12. Seamen's hospital fund.....                        | 2,000.00       |
| 13. Canadian war veterans' association.....            | 11,000.00      |
| 14. Sportsmen's patriotic association.....             | 2,500.00       |
| 15. Maple leaf club.....                               | 500.00         |
| 16. War prisoners' relief fund.....                    | 5,000.00       |
| 17. Purchase of aeroplanes.....                        | 22,800.00      |
| 18. Purchase horses, rifles, ammunition.....           | 69,930.45      |
| 19. Salaries of enlisted civic employees.....          | 975,274.35     |
| 20. Food, clothing, etc., for soldiers overseas.....   | 16,052.96      |
| 21. Maintenance and temporary barracks.....            | 14,853.11      |
| 22. Recruiting grants to battalions, etc.....          | 67,083.02      |
| 23. Wages paid to those protecting city property.....  | 333,073.84     |
| 24. Paid to soldiers for picket duty.....              | 945.00         |
| 25. Rent of hospital and hospital accommodation.....   | 13,386.42      |
| 26. Receiving returned soldiers and miscellaneous..... | 11,951.23      |
| 27. Provincial war taxes, 1915-1916-1917.....          | 1,736,357.00   |
| Total.....   | \$7,118,299.33 |

This large total is being added to through the falling in of life insurance which the city is carrying. The number of lives now covered by insurance is 41,645, of which 32,596 are carried by the city, involving a contingent liability of no less than \$32,596,000. The remaining 9,049 are carried by life insurance companies, at an annual charge of approximately \$176,000.00.

The following are the gross assessments of the city for 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917:

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1914.....             | \$513,380,984 |
| 1915.....             | 565,300,294   |
| 1916.....             | 589,036,455   |
| 1917.....             | 592,123,873   |
| 1918 (unrevised)..... | 605,107,430   |

The Toronto harbor is being rebuilt at a cost of \$26,000,000 of which the city contributes \$20,000,000. Notwithstanding the war, these works are not being shut down, because they are, in the main, revenue producing. The British forgings plant, on which three and a half millions has been spent, has located on the harbor property, which would not have been secured if the harbor had been closed down. They are manufacturing munitions.

The following is a statement of the amount of money collected by the city of Toronto towards the patriotic fund and the patriotic Red Cross:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| First patriotic appeal.....   | \$1,100,000 |
| Second patriotic appeal (of which \$250,000 given to Canadian Red Cross)..... | 2,400,000   |
| Third patriotic appeal.....   | 3,300,000   |

*British Red Cross Appeals:*

|                       |           |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| (1) Appeal no. 1..... | \$550,000 |
| (2) Appeal no. 2..... | 740,000   |
| (3) Appeal no. 3..... | 837,000   |

*Secours National:*

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Amount of cash subscriptions.....                 | \$104,157 |
| Value of different kind of goods contributed..... | 200,000   |

## REPRESENTATION IN DAYTON AND ASHTABULA

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

*Western Reserve University*

SHOULD the city council of the future be large or small? Should it be chosen by wards or at large? If chosen at large, should the Hare system of proportional representation be used or should it be partially renewed at alternate elections? These are questions of paramount importance to cities contemplating charter changes. Moreover, they are questions of fundamental interest to everyone connected with the theory or process of government. The answers to them involve the future of the representative system.

The recent elections in two Ohio cities that have braved the uncertainties of governmental experimentation, are rich in practical lessons for those who seek a better type of representative government. Ashtabula and Dayton are both governed through city manager charters. Both have had two elections under the new system and both have received a considerable amount of notice from students of city government. On account of the dissimilarity of the methods used in the two cities in choosing their commissions, a comparative study seems appropriate at this time.

It must be frankly stated that the difference in size of Dayton and Ashtabula very largely detracts from the value of the comparison. Dayton has a population of 140,000 while Ashtabula is only an eighth as large. This means that Dayton has in a great measure outgrown the characteristics of a small city while Ashtabula retains a considerable amount of provincialism. Nevertheless, both are alike in general economic interests and in the fact that their populations include a large proportion of the foreign born.

#### DAYTON'S ELECTION

The manager plan was adopted in Dayton in the period following the great flood, which almost prostrated the business life of the community. John H. Patterson, president of the National Cash Register Company, the hero of the flood, became the chief statesman of the reconstruction. A non-partisan organization was formed which promoted the formation of a new charter and nominated five candidates for the new commission. These were all elected. Four were business men and one a labor unionist. In the election of 1915 one of the non-partisan members was displaced by a Democrat. During the past two years a considerable feeling has developed among the laboring classes that they have not been properly represented in the government. Much of the criticism that has been leveled at the singularly efficient and vigorous administration of Manager Waite can safely be attributed to this disaffection. This feeling the Socialists carefully stimulated, and in the pre-primary campaign of 1917 they skilfully capitalized it. In the primaries the three Socialist candidates ran far ahead of all others,<sup>1</sup> with the non-partisan commissioners winning the other places on the ticket. The defeated Democrats threw all of their strength to the support of the Citizens' ticket in the pre-election campaign.

The campaign was sensational and bitterly fought by both sides. The Citizens' candidates stood on their record, claiming support on the basis of the increased efficiency and economy of the Waite administration. With the exception of a Socialist weekly, they had all of the newspaper support of the city. Governor Cox, a citizen of Dayton, supported the Citizens' candidates both in person and through his newspaper. The "extravagancies and failures" of the "local capitalistic clique" received the attention of the Socialists. They made few specific promises, however, of changes in the policy or administration of the government. They did not commit themselves against the city-manager form of government nor against Manager Waite himself. The campaign was full of generalities and practically no local issue of importance was raised upon which the two sides actually differed.

The most important feature of the later weeks of the campaign was the

<sup>1</sup> See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. vi, p. 623.

attitude of the Socialist party on the war. The candidates themselves seem to have made no specific criticism of the national government, but their unquestioned adherence to Socialist principles was used by the opposition with telling effect. The "red flag of revolution" was used to characterize the men who were claiming the support of the voters of the city. The following challenge to the voters upon the front page of one of the newspapers is notable:

"The red flag which is carried by the Socialists of this country is the flag of destruction, disloyalty and dishonor."

"The Star Spangled Banner is the flag of patriotism, of virtue, of liberty and of justice."

"Under which flag do you stand?" The Socialists replied that they were not disloyal and taunted their critics with the counter charge that the Citizens' candidates were "wrapping themselves in the flag."

The election resulted as follows:

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Switzer, non-partisan .....    | 17,248 |
| Schroyer, non-partisan .....   | 16,661 |
| Mendenhall, non-partisan ..... | 16,474 |
| Barringer, Socialist .....     | 13,633 |
| Geisler, Socialist .....       | 12,248 |
| Farrell, Socialist .....       | 11,940 |

The Socialists, polling 42 per cent of the total vote cast, were unable to displace a single member of the existing commission.

#### ASHTABULA'S ELECTION

Ashtabula is a city of about 17,000 population, composed of two parts, two miles distant from each other, the harbor and the city proper. The harbor is the part surrounding the ore docks and is largely populated with foreign born. It is noteworthy that proportional representation has been introduced into America through a trial in a city with a real problem in geographical representation, and that less complaint has been voiced within the past two years by residents of the harbor, on the grounds of discrimination in favor of the city proper, than ever before.

The first election in Ashtabula under proportional representation, held in 1915, resulted in the election of a commission of seven members, representative of widely diversified interests. "The business element may be said to have three representatives. The Irish, Swedes and Italians each elected a member of the council. The Socialists elected a member. On the liquor issue three of the successful are pronounced drys, three are classed as liberals and one is very wet!"<sup>2</sup>

Two years' experience under the new system seems to have satisfied its friends and silenced its enemies. No demand has been made for a

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 36.

change. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the commission elected in 1915 adequately represented all shades of opinion and all types of interests. After the commission took office, in 1916, a city manager was selected. For this position the commission selected a local man who had been closely identified with partisan politics for many years. He did not carry the spirit of partisanship into the administration of his new position, appreciating the fact that his tenure depended upon the coalition of local interests which had no relation to the old party alignments. His appointments were not partisan; he abolished a number of useless positions and in the general administration of affairs displayed a large amount of common sense and of sympathy with the special needs of the community. Perhaps the cause of good city government can sometimes best be served through such a gradual transition from the old partisanship.

The issues in the election just held differed somewhat from those of 1915. The question of prohibition, which was important then, has been eliminated on account of the fact that the city has since gone dry. No avowed Socialist was a candidate and the war was not mentioned in connection with the municipal election. No attention seemed to be given to the national party affiliations of any candidate. In this connection it may be asserted with positive emphasis that in the municipal affairs of Ashtabula there is no Republican or Democratic alignment at the present time. Few people seem to know and no one cares for the national party to which the candidates belong. The only issue upon which concerted effort was made by a well defined group of voters was religious. Some weeks before the election a dispute between the Guardians of Liberty and the Roman Catholics concerning the use of a school building for an anti-Catholic lecture ended in the courts. As a consequence, the Guardians of Liberty selected four candidates from among the sixteen and concentrated their efforts upon the task of electing them. Instructions were given to voters to express choices only for these four candidates, and on election day marked sample ballots were passed out in large numbers by representatives of the anti-Catholic group.

The outstanding fact in the election returns<sup>3</sup> was the election of Rinto, Amsden, Swedenborg and Mack, the candidates endorsed by the Guardians of Liberty. In addition to these, Hogan and McClure, former commissioners, and William E. Boynton were successful.

#### COMPOSITION OF ASHTABULA'S NEW COMMISSION

The new commission seems to be as representative of the expressed will of the voters as the one elected in 1915. Rinto is a young lawyer of Finnish descent. His standing with the Finns is shown by the fact that

<sup>3</sup> See the result sheet at the end of this article.

he received two thirds of all the votes cast in the precincts inhabited by voters of that nationality. His residence is in the harbor district and he was by all odds the choice of the voters of that section. This preference, coupled with the endorsement by the Guardians of Liberty, accounts for his large vote. Amsden is a dock superintendent for a large coal corporation. He received strong support in the precincts in which most of his employes reside. Swedenborg is the proprietor of a small manufacturing establishment. He is known as a substantial Swedish-American citizen and he received almost the entire vote of the members of his nationality. Mack is a foreman in a printing establishment. His greatest strength was in the middle class precincts. Hogan is a leading physician and a Roman Catholic. He was elected in 1915 and was president of the first commission. He seems to have received strong support from the Roman Catholics. The strength of the anti-Catholic bloc is shown in the fact that in the distribution of Rinto's 143 surplus votes, Hogan received not one. Boynton was a member of the commission which wrote the city charter, and it was largely due to his efforts that proportional representation was adopted. He is a railway engineer, a member of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers, and a life-long friend of labor. McClure is a department manager in a large retail store. He is one of the two hold-over members of the commission. Corrado, elected in 1915 after long service in the city council, was representative of the "wet" interests as well as of the Italian voters. In this election he was defeated in the final count. His election in 1915 did not add to the quality of the council, but it was evident that he was chosen by interests sufficient to be represented. In the present election he lost a large part of the Italian vote.

The council chosen is representative of all the elements of the city which seemed to desire representation. There is no labor vote in Ashtabula such as is found in larger cities. The city is predominantly middle-class with the addition of a foreign born element which seeks representation of nationality and creed rather than economic interest. There is evidence in the Ashtabula election to indicate that sectional preferences may function very easily in the proportional representation system. The harbor is represented. Three of the four wards of the city are represented.

The habit of voters in the small city to prefer candidates who live nearby is shown in the first-choice votes in the precincts. In twelve of the sixteen precincts the candidate receiving the highest number of votes was a resident of that precinct. This indicates that proportional representation does not eliminate locality representation when it is genuinely sought by the voters. The virtue of proportional representation as shown in the Ashtabula election is in the fact that while the voters were not restricted to candidates living near them, they had the opportunity to retain all of the benefits of the old system.

## DAYTON'S DIVISION

The experiences of Dayton and Ashtabula throw much light upon the claims which have been urged for proportional representation as a method of selecting a city council.

The claim has been made by opponents of proportional representation that while election at large under the Dayton plan tends to divide the community into two permanent groups, proportional representation would increase the number of permanent groups to a number practically equivalent to the membership of the commission. There is much evidence to show that such a permanent division is already present in Dayton. In the primaries the Democratic organization placed three candidates in the field. Prior to the adoption of the city-manager charter Dayton was normally Democratic and the organization of that party was very strong. The strength of the new Citizens' party is shown by the fact that it defeated the Democrats. It is fair to assume that the Citizens' party, if it seeks continuity of power, will in the future perfect its already well organized power. The Socialist party will probably become the chief competitor of the Citizens' group, and the politics of Dayton for a long time will be dominated by these two groups.

## ASHTABULA'S RELIGIOUS GROUPING

It is early to prophecy as to the future of party divisions in Ashtabula. The recent election resulted in the victory of four candidates supported by an anti-Catholic movement which had existed only a few weeks. The history of the country tells us that political organizations which originate in religious quarrels are seldom permanent. The opposition of the anti-Catholic group in Ashtabula is directed at the Roman Catholic Church as a religious institution rather than at any economic power that it may possess. For this reason the opposition group is not likely to reveal much solidarity. Other temporary issues will come which will, like this religious quarrel, function through the proportional system. The system gives possibility for this constantly shifting alignment. That it will result in the formation of a number of permanent parties is not to be expected.

As life increases in complexity, interests not only become more diversified but lose more and more of their permanency. To give to voters sixteen or more avenues of choice is more in keeping with this evolution than to adopt a system which tends to divide a community into two permanent parties. The need of a modern community is a method of choosing representatives which will allow the most complete freedom to the changing interests which will present themselves. It is unnecessary to provide artificial party divisions in a democracy. These divisions will act through the government if our system of representation offers the oppor-

tunity. The pressure of want, the grip of tradition, and the attraction of like for like can be trusted to provide political impulse and guidance. Proportional representation, more than any other system that has yet been devised, offers the flexibility necessary for the free play of these forces. If we frankly recognize the presence of these interests in society and believe in a government which offers them the opportunity to reach an equilibrium we can scarcely escape the logic of proportional representation.

The tactics of the Guardians of Liberty indicate the method which we may expect a group to adopt in seeking control of a legislative body elected by proportional representation. In this case the election of four members is indicative of the accuracy of the estimation by the anti-Catholics of their own strength. However, if they had chosen to work for six or seven candidates, the ultimate result would have been the same, although probably Rinto and Amsden would not have been elected so early in the count. If the strength of the group had been equal to only two-sevenths of the vote cast, the fact that four members were supported would not in the smallest degree have injured the opportunity of the group to gain two members, their just quota.

The practical result of this is to throw representatives of conflicting interests together at the meetings of the commission. Their differences may be subjected to frank discussion. This is surely more conducive to an intelligent understanding by all of the various points of view than the operation of a system which makes of the minority a critical element shut out entirely from participation in the government.

The stock argument of opponents of proportional representation is that it is too complicated. This tends, they say, to lessen interest in elections and to discourage the exercise of the suffrage. The result sheet shows that very few voters failed to use second and third choices, while the vast majority expressed seven or more preferences. Very few ballots were invalid on account of improper marking. In 1915 10 per cent of the votes cast were invalid. In 1917 this fell to 7 per cent. This is not an unusual number of invalid ballots for any election. The reason why most of these ballots were invalid was the fact that crosses instead of numbers were used in marking preferences. When we consider that Ashtabula has a very large number of foreign born voters who have not been citizens many years and add to this the thought that making crosses is almost as much of an Anglo-Saxon heritage as representative government itself, this slight reversion to habit is not remarkable.

It may be well to remind the reader that under the Hare system all first choices are counted by the precinct officers immediately after the close of the polls. The ballots on which first choices are indicated for a candidate are put into an envelope bearing his name and the number of ballots thus deposited. After this is done for each candidate, all envel-

opes are sent to the central election board, who have charge of the tabulation of transfers.

#### TECHNIQUE OF NEW SYSTEM

The election officials at Ashtabula have thoroughly mastered the technique of the new system and the process takes no more time than the old system. The counting and tabulation by the central board this year took less than five hours, which would not have exceeded four had not a precinct official made an error in his returns. The tabulation requires care and accuracy, which is of course true of any system of vote counting.

In this connection a recent article in the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*<sup>4</sup> contains a statement which betrays a grave lack of understanding of the practical methods used in counting the votes. It is asserted that the practical working of proportional representation is so involved in technicalities that under it election officials would have more opportunity for fraud. In Ashtabula all ballots, after being sorted by precinct officials, were enclosed in sealed envelopes and sent to the central board. The count took place in the afternoon of the day following the election. The public was admitted and a number of the spectators amused themselves by tabulating on sheets of their own the transfers as announced. The whole proceeding was as open and as free from mystery as the drawing of the draft numbers in Washington last June. The imperative need for accuracy, the check which the result sheet provides, and the presence of spectators renders fraud practically impossible.

The comparison of representation in Dayton with that possessed by Ashtabula is most significant. In Dayton 42 per cent of the voters are manifestly without representation in the government. This minority has in the campaign been stigmatized as pro-Kaiser and anti-American, and it will not have for at least two years an opportunity to express its criticism within the body which, according to our theory of government, is the mirror for reflecting all classes and all interests. Within the commission is regularity and a cohesion solidified by the fires of a bitter campaign. Without is a large body of citizens gathering its forces for another onslaught two years hence. No doubt this system which provides periodical life or death struggles is productive of a certain kind of stimulation and is interesting to that which Veblen designates as the "habitual bellicose frame of mind." But there may be difference of opinion whether it constitutes an approach to a higher type of democracy.

<sup>4</sup>Proportional Representation: A Fundamental or a Fad, Herman G. James, *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. v, p. 306.

ASHTABULA, OHIO. ELECTION OF COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 6, 1917

Number of Valid Ballots, 3,176

Number of Seats. 7

Quota or Constitu-

## THE NOVEMBER MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1917

BY THE EDITOR

QUIET naturally the New York and Philadelphia municipal elections claim the largest share of general public attention, and because they went the way they did cast a gloom, which only a wider survey will dispel. If one looks at the results in the middle-sized cities of the country, and especially those in the state of Ohio, one may take courage to go forward. It was not always so in Ohio. There was a time when her cities afforded grave cause for concern, but since the adoption of the municipal home rule amendment in 1912 (whether because of it or irrespective of it) there has been a steady progress.

### DAYTON

Dayton has, ever since she adopted the commission-manager form of government, occupied a prominent place in the national eye. Her government had distinctly made good under the city managership of Henry M. Waite, and this autumn the question arose as to whether her citizenry would support the advances which had been accomplished or would turn her affairs over to the representatives of discontent.

In August the situation was dubious indeed. The Socialist candidates were the top men in the poll, the Citizens' candidates coming next but quite a way behind. In the words of a Socialist leader: "The great victory of the Socialists in Dayton, Ohio, at the primary election in August, was won squarely on the anti-war issue, and any attempt to minimize the significance of the victory is an effort to hoodwink the rest of the country. The contest was clearly between the business interests and the workers, and the workers registered their protest against the war, and voted for peace."

This clearly indicated the reactionary result: the determination of a municipal election on national issues (and right here it may be observed that Mayor Mitchel and his friends made the great mistake of trying to give to the New York campaign a national character). The friends of progress in Dayton, however, forced the issue—which was admirably expressed in a leaflet headed "Community Insurance." Its first page read:

Take out a POLICY with Good Government—the safest insurance in the United States.

The only PREMIUM is your VOTE.

The LIFE OF THE POLICY is four more years. RENEW your policy of four years ago.

To vote for Messrs. Switzer, Shroyer and Mendenhall, is merely to secure insurance against civic and industrial turmoil.

Can YOU afford to let it LAPSE?

The campaign was lively from the start and easily maintained the statement that the city hall news had displaced the sporting and the market news in the daily papers.<sup>1</sup>

#### DAYTON'S OPPONENTS

Dayton gave the response that was expected and is now preparing to go forward to justify the expectations aroused by the campaign. In the words of the *Dayton Journal*, a persistent supporter of the Citizens' candidates from the start:

A splendid yet grave responsibility now rests upon the commission. They have the chance now to establish non-partisan government as an institution and a model for every American municipality.

Our government has given the people an honest and efficient administration. The interests of the taxpayer have been protected as a sacred trust. Now we must go further. Our government must be more humanized and get down close to the masses of the people, and their neighborhood wants and needs must be looked after with effective care and promptness. In the years to come this policy of making the masses of the people part of the government and engaging their intimate interest in the government must grow in power and scope so that the interest in honest and efficient municipal government under the Dayton non-partisan plan will reach into every working man's home in this splendid community.

Now that the great victory for good government has been won, the real work of progress and the accomplishment of greater things must begin. New conditions are forming, events plainly indicate that humanity must be a brotherhood, working in co-operation and sympathy that every man and woman may get a fair deal. Happiness and contentment and progress must include all the people, not some of the people. And so far as our municipal government can work to this end, no stone must be left unturned to establish and maintain a progressive policy based on the broadest humanity and sympathy with those who toil, the working men and women who by their loyalty to right things, their loyalty to their country and their approval of an honest and sincere endeavor to give them good municipal government, made the victory in Dayton possible.

#### SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

Springfield, Ohio, is another city in which municipal issues decided the election and integrity and efficiency won the day. The splendid record of City Manager Ashburner was endorsed. The candidates at the primaries for the three offices to be filled in the city commission were the three members of the commission whose terms expire on January 1, also three Socialists and one other candidate, a former councilman of the old political stripe. The primary vote resulted in the nomination of the three members of the commission, two Socialists and the former politician, from which three were to be elected. The three commissioners received very heavy pluralities over the other candidates and the election of all three

<sup>1</sup> For results see Dr. Moley's article in this issue.

was well assured from the start, and their primary pluralities were turned into substantial majorities at the general election, the vote being nearly two to one.

#### SANDUSKY

In Sandusky an awkward and distressing situation has existed since the beginning of the city manager régime, resulting in the enforced retirement of one city manager and of a mayor, the latter on account of his inability to secure a renewal of his bond and the resignation of two commissioners. It is difficult to sum up the difficulties in a single paragraph, but a contributing factor of considerable importance was a free lance commissioner who seemed to be more interested in creating trouble and difficulties than in working out a constructive program. This disturbing element has been curtailed through its failure to elect its slate.

#### TOLEDO, OHIO

In Toledo the municipal campaign resolved itself into a contest between the Socialists running on a pacifist platform and the pro-war people who united on the candidate that was brought forth by the local Democratic organization. The Socialists were defeated, receiving about one third of the votes cast.

Toledo's charter provides for non-partisan nomination and election. As a result of the primaries, however, three candidates who represented very definite groups, if not actual party organizations, were nominated. Cornell Schreiber, the mayor-elect, was formerly city solicitor under the Whitlock administration. Two years ago he ran for the nomination as mayor, but was eliminated in the primaries. This year he had the support of the Democratic organization and received the highest number of votes in the primaries. George M. Murphey, formerly chief of police, was the second nominee for mayor. He was a Republican in politics and had also gathered around him the anti-Catholic elements in the community. The third nominee was the Socialist, Robert T. Haworth, a machinist.

Mr. Murphey died shortly after he was nominated and it was found that the charter made no provision for appointing a substitute. This left the contest between Schreiber and the Socialist. Before Murphey's death it was evident that in spite of the non-partisan provisions of the charter the contest would be along national party lines. Democrats were to vote for Schreiber, Republicans for Murphey, and the Socialists for Haworth. After Murphey's death part of his campaign committee endorsed the Socialist candidate but this was repudiated by other members of the committee.

While the interest of the election was centered mainly in the mayoralty contest, the organized political elements of the community under cover

of the non-partisan provisions of the charter were working for the control of the council. The result of the election shows three Socialist councilmen, six Republicans, and seven Democrats.

This year Toledo abolished its police court and its justice courts, and in their place substituted a municipal court with four judges who would divide the criminal and civil dockets among them. The election of the municipal judges excited a great deal of local interest and the old police court judge and two of the former city judges were elected as judges of the municipal court. The fourth was a popular young progressive Republican.

The Socialists made an attempt to capture the school board, three of the five members of which were to be elected. One of the Socialists came close to election, but most of their candidates were far behind. The two members of the present board who were candidates were re-elected.

The wet and dry issues were hotly contested and the wets won. Six different bond issues and special levies were submitted. All of them but one carried, and that one was to provide a special tax levy for maintaining the branch public libraries which have recently been built.

The fact that Toledo voted for saloons and against public libraries would be more significant if the vote on the questions submitted to the people really represented their intelligent choice. As a matter of fact, however, much of the voting was pure guess work. The long ballot in Toledo has been abolished and a great many short ballots substituted for it, each voter receiving nine different ballots when he entered the voting booth.

#### OTHER OHIO CITIES

In Akron the new charter issue carried by 1,500 majority and the 15 candidates for the charter board endorsed by the citizens committee of 100 were elected. The Socialist candidate for mayor received 375 less votes than the total Socialist vote for mayor two years ago.

The Columbus election was over subordinate offices, but the civic league was quite well pleased that no one was elected whom it had not approved.

There was very little of general interest in the Cleveland election. The present mayor was re-elected on a preferential vote which was as follows:

|                       | First<br>Choice | Second<br>Choice | Other<br>Choices | Totals |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|--------|
| Harry L. Davis.....   | 48,827          | 4,819            | 1,651            | 55,297 |
| W. A. Stinchcomb..... | 32,837          | 5,511            | 1,801            | 40,149 |
| C. E. Ruthenberg..... | 21,378          | 4,625            | 1,642            | 27,645 |
| Hugh F. Taylor.....   | 2,173           | 6,736            | 3,740            | 12,649 |
| E. B. Bancroft.....   | 2,693           | 5,655            | 3,943            | 12,291 |

Davis' plurality—15,148 all choice votes

Following the precedent established six years ago, the civic league expressed no opinion on the merits of the respective candidates for this office,

because they were sufficiently well known and the principles for which they stand so fully discussed in the press.

Cincinnati has adopted a home rule charter, being the last large city in the state to take advantage of the home rule amendments.

#### EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

East St. Louis, Illinois, sprang into an unenviable notoriety last summer through a race riot that shocked and horrified the state and country. The need for a change in the local government became glaringly apparent and as a first step a movement to inaugurate a commission form of government was inaugurated. In spite of the organized opposition of the city officials and the allied liquor interests and machine politicians, the commission form of government proposition carried, by a two to one vote. The significant feature of the revolution was the activity of women for the commission form. A fourth of the votes cast for the proposition were women's votes, and the women used automobiles during the day in getting men to go to the polls. Without the aid of the women, the step could not have been accomplished, even in face of the disgraceful exhibition of lax government and aggressive crime which the city has just had.

But the East St. Louis people must not think they have finished the reformation of the city, as the editor of a neighboring paper pointed out. The machine politicians will at once begin adjusting themselves to the new condition. They were against the adoption of the commission form, but now that it is adopted, they will try to use it. They will have their slate of candidates for commissioners, and will depend upon the lack of cohesion on the part of the reform element to elect their slate. And if they succeed in electing their candidates, government under the new form may be as rotten as under the old form. Changing the system of government gives better opportunity for efficiency, but if the wrong men are elected, the whole scheme may fall through.

#### DETROIT

In Detroit the chief issue was the revision of its charter and charter revision carried by a vote of 27,422 to 9,994. The proposal for a small council (about nine) elected at large on a non-partisan ballot carried by 23,637 to 10,852. The aldermen's amendment to the present charter calling for one alderman to a ward after January 1, 1919, at \$2,000 per annum, carried by 18,966 to 16,331. Mayor Marx and some others who campaigned in behalf of charter revision, differed with the citizens' league in favoring this third measure. Many voters voted for it, thinking it meant "small council." Only nine candidates for charter commission could be elected and only nine were nominated. They were brought out solely by the efforts of the citizens' league.

The vote is a vindication of the citizens' league policy and plans. All

the elements of so-called "good government" were with it, including all the newspapers. In spite of the war interest it got out a fair vote. "In time of war prepare for peace" was the basis of the argument for refusing to postpone this question. The league was opposed publicly and vigorously by an organization of ward aldermen, with whom were working a small group of I. W. W. radicals assuming to represent union labor. Yet even in the "lower" precincts there were good majorities for the measure.

The campaign was waged by organization of voters in the big factories, churches, and through letters to the 18,674 signers of our initiative petitions. Many meetings were held, particularly in the factories at noon hours, and newspaper publicity was a great help. The big fight, however, will come with submission of the completed charter.

#### BUFFALO

Buffalo has a commission-government charter with the usual non-partisan features, but this year's mayoralty election was fought out on partisan lines, the Democrats supporting the sitting mayor, Louis P. Fuhrman, and the Republicans, George S. Buck. The latter was preferred by the Buffalo municipal league and was elected by a handsome majority. Concerning his public work the league said:

George S. Buck, county auditor 1912-1917: he voted for the public interest on all our nine test measures occurring during his term as supervisor, except one, on which he was not recorded; he was a leader in the great transformation which has taken place in the board of supervisors; he has been a most efficient county auditor and has saved the county thousands of dollars annually through a budget system, careful accounting, appraisal and inventory of county property and through improved specifications which have resulted in real competitive bidding and through drafting the bill resulting in a county purchasing agent; has a large knowledge of municipal affairs. Of late years the auditor has some of the functions of a mayor to the county. He was a worker for the existing new charter, but has refused to sign the above home rule charter pledge.

#### NIAGARA FALLS

While Niagara Falls has the city-manager form of government, candidates for all offices were nominated under the old charter, which the manager plan was designed to displace. The constitutionality of the city-manager charter is contested. Justice Bissell has decided that it is unconstitutional and he has been upheld by the appellate division. The question is now before the court of appeals. Arguments were made November 19.

If the present form of government is declared constitutional then only two members of the council should have been elected. If it is declared unconstitutional, then a mayor, president of the common council, city treasurer, overseer of the poor, three assessors, and thirteen aldermen, a full city government ticket would be required by the old charter, but the

city-manager government was vindicated by the handsome victory achieved by the People's ticket, nominated by the Republicans. The election was practically a clean sweep for the Republicans, who were committed to the city-manager form, and whose platform declared for a continuance of that form through the establishment of a legal charter.

Maxwell M. Thompson, who headed the People's ticket, was elected over George H. Courter, who ran on the Citizens' ticket, by a plurality of 607 votes. All three of the Republican candidates for assessor were elected. It is in the election of these three candidates that the people expressed themselves on one of the main issues of the campaign, the question of assessed valuations and the tax rate. The Democrats made their fight on the declaration that the people had been exploited by the present city-manager government. The Republicans took the stand that the present system of city management was what the people wanted, and the vote indicated that this estimate of the public view was correct.

#### POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

Dissatisfaction with the aldermanic system of government found expression at the polls in Poughkeepsie in the defeat of Mayor Wilbur and the election of Ralph Butts on the latter's expressed promise to place before the people a proposition to change to the commission system. Agitation for a change has been going on ever since Newburgh adopted plan C. The results of the city-manager system in Newburgh were placed before Poughkeepsians in the late campaign as an argument for the progressive step there. Mayor Wilbur has gone a long way in instituting business administration in Poughkeepsie and the people were not unappreciative; but they wanted more progress than is possible under the aldermanic plan, and when Wilbur arrayed himself against the change they decided on a new deal in public control as the first and perhaps most important step to attain the kind of government desired.

#### NEW YORK CITY

The New York situation is difficult to summarize. There is a general feeling that the Mitchel campaign was badly managed and that it was a great mistake to inject national and international issues into what should have been a campaign conducted solely on local issues. In the words of the *Wall Street Journal*:

Mr. Hylan's election was hailed by the German newspapers as a triumph for the Kaiser, and a mandate for peace at any price, particularly as the Kaiser's faithful representative here was a good third in the race, where Mayor Mitchel was only a bad second. But Mr. Hylan is an American, and in spite of his unfortunate affiliations in the past, he must realize, like all thinking Americans, that he represents a democracy which the rigid German mind cannot comprehend.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The vote was as follows: Hylan, 297,282; Mitchel, 149,307; Hillquit (Socialist), 142,178; Bennett (Republican), 53,678.

The only word of encouragement so far uttered since Mayor Mitchel's defeat is that of the institute for public service of which Dr. William H. Allen is director. In a bulletin issued the day after the election, Dr. Allen said:

Reform had no right to fool itself into forgetting that human progress is due quite as much to protests against evil as desire for good. So far as the rest of the country cares about what happens in New York City, it is important that the truth be told about the breakdown of our last reform administration. Please do not misread the public's intention. Never in our history has the New York voter been more specific in his definition of what an efficient municipal government ought to be. If the spotlight of publicity is kept on what our newly elected officials do, there is every reason for believing that we shall have a better government these next four years than we knew how to want before this last election.

#### PHILADELPHIA .

Philadelphia had a hectic campaign. Seven weeks before election there was organized a Town Meeting party to defeat the candidates of the Republican party which were nominated at the primary on September 17, which the now notorious fifth ward scandal tainted. Notwithstanding the perfection of the Republican machinery and its absolute control of immense patronage and the short duration of the campaign, the Town Meeting party, which had the support of a portion of the Republican machine, elected enough members of councils to destroy the heretofore absolute control of the city's purse strings and came very near to electing its city ticket. At the time of this writing the count of the vote is proceeding and the claim has been made that there was a widespread effort made to defeat the will of the people. As one old-time political leader said, "Another victory like this for the machine, and it will be undone."

One Pennsylvania city, Altoona, voted to go on the city-manager basis under the lead of its aggressive chamber of commerce. Candidates for the office of commissioners were pledged to cut down their salaries to provide an \$8,000 salary for a city manager, and they were successful at the polls.

Newark, New Jersey, adopted the commission form of government this autumn, and on November 15 elected its first commission. The election of Thomas L. Raymond, the present mayor in Newark, to the commission was most interesting. The commission movement was favored by the politicians on each side, because they were hostile to Raymond; he headed the poll, no doubt because he was personally regarded as decent, independent and efficient.

#### CHICAGO

Concerning the Chicago situation Dr. Graham Taylor has this to say in the *Chicago News*:

The people's verdict on the confused issues of the judicial election is both decisive and hopeful. Those who sought to carry the Socialist party ticket by intruding national issues into this purely local election, or at least to demonstrate by the election returns a great division in public sentiment regarding the prosecution and continuance of the war, decisively failed to do either.

But they did achieve an unexpected result which may bear good fruits in future judicial elections. They forced the two great parties to become so far non-partisan as to unite in framing and pushing through to triumphant election a fusion ticket. The non-political nature of the judges' position and function was thus far conceded by the party managers and overwhelmingly ratified by the voters.

#### OTHER CITIES

Louisville, Kentucky, a nominally Democratic city, went Republican. This party likewise carried Indianapolis, partly as a rebuke to the Democratic administration, many members of which are now under indictment for election frauds.

In Massachusetts, Haverhill voters defeated a city-manager form proposition, as did the voters of Winchester. Waltham voted to adopt one, and Lynn voted to abandon its commission form.

By an overwhelming majority running about four to one, citizens of Clarksburg and its suburbs adopted the Greater Clarksburg charter at the special election, thereby putting Clarksburg properly upon the map as the third largest city in West Virginia. The total vote was 2,939 for and 760 against the charter.

Pueblo, Colorado, rejected the proposed single-tax amendment to its city charter by a vote of two to one. Two amendments proposing an entire change in city government from the present commission form to that of commissioner-city manager were defeated by approximately the same majority.

Generally speaking the Socialists achieved no victories. Their votes in places were numerous, but nowhere preponderating. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Buffalo, where Socialism might have been expected, owing to the immense foreign influence, to show alarming gains the results can hardly be encouraging to the anti-American leaders. Their fight in those cities was made on an anti-war, anti-American platform, and the verdict was against them overwhelmingly, in some places because of the desire to register a pro-American verdict, but in most places because there was a desire emphatically to resent the intrusion of national and international affairs in local campaigns. Where there were "immense" Socialistic gains they were due principally to a previous lack of interest in Socialism. To record a gain of 400 per cent for Socialism means little where the previous Socialist vote was only two or three hundred. Nevertheless the Socialist movement is one that should not be

ignored. It represents a closely compacted political organization, with power to attract the elements of discontent and it is quite as unscrupulous in its appeal to passion and prejudice as any of the older political machines.

## THE CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

BY OSSIAN E. CARR

*Niagara Falls*

**I**T IS four years since our association was organized,—four years full of progress in municipal government in America. Public sentiment has been slowly crystallizing in regard to the matter of government. Disinterested people are becoming more and more allied with the societies which are developing and organizing a movement looking toward improved municipal conditions. As an association, the city managers have no precedents. Our thought has to be exercised in a new field. How quickly we are beginning to sense details peculiar to our position in government and to reflect upon them!

I have said that four years ago we were organized as an association. By a coincidence, it happens that just four of us who were city managers then are with the association now. We have had an idea before of the large percentage of mortality which attended the position of city manager. Now we see that it is really true. One of the duties which should be added to those of our secretary should be the tabulation of those who are gone from the profession, tired of the conditions that they found surrounding them.

Humanity must ever have a means of absolving itself from individual blame or responsibility. Humanity joyfully acclaims the city manager the butt of all mischance. The plan fixes the responsibility. The manager realizes this, even though the irate citizen holds him accountable for weather and other malevolent manifestations of providence.

### CONTRASTS WITH OTHER PROFESSIONS

The lawyer who makes a mistake is able to explain it away to his client, or he goes forth seeking a new client and sues the talker for libel. The doctor who makes a mistake buries it and a silent monument marks the spot where it lies. But if a city manager makes a mistake, how the opposition does fall in line to see that it receives full publicity and how the citizens joyfully come at the call to lend their services to send it to all the suburbs! On the other hand, the manager works long hours to an end, achieves it and passes on to another. It may be that the problem is organization, it may be finance, and it may be construction. If good,

<sup>1</sup> Presidential address of Ossian E. Carr as president of the City Managers' Association, delivered at Detroit, November 20, 1917.

the result of his effort is greeted with a silence and he must suffice be content with the approval of his own consciousness of work well done.

These conditions of society account for so many managers leaving the field in order to take up a profession where mistakes are accepted as part of man's finite nature. There were many changes of managers in 1916, still others in 1917. Some of the reasons for removal are strange and paradoxical. One city manager was openly charged with demoralizing the Republican party. He did not consult the party chiefs for names to fill appointments. He played no favorites. He took his position seriously and he applied a private conscience to a public office, all of which, tested by public sentiment, was wrong, and the manager was removed. The paradoxical part of this is that it took place in a municipality which was so progressive as to vote for the city-manager form of government. The strangest part of it is that I could name several manager cities affected in this way.

#### TACT AS A QUALIFICATION

At different times in the past, we have discussed the qualifications which we decided a manager should possess. The consensus of opinion has seemed to be that the one kind of ability most needed was executive ability. We engineers modestly conceded that if an engineer should chance to have this kind of ability, his engineering training would be very useful. I do not know but that, in observing the careers of many of us, some spectacular, some meteoric, some commonplace, that I have been moved to place tact in the very first row of essential qualifications. Tact is needed in securing the appointment, in dealing with the public, but above all in relation with the commission. It is so essential that unless it is exercised, the tenure of office of the individual is bound to be short, regardless of executive ability, efficiency and education.

Commissioners asked one city manager his reasons for discharging a certain official. He replied that he could discharge any employe with or without reasons and, further, that he need not state reasons to the commission. The manager went on to say that, while in this particular case, he would grant their request and specify reasons, he wished his action to be considered no precedent. Thereupon he gave a half dozen reasons, any one of which would have been sufficient grounds for dismissal. But this man is no longer city manager. He lacked tact. I doubt whether he would be retained as manager of a private corporation, no matter what his production record, but with a private corporation production record does count. With a municipality he had no chance whatever.

The situation is complicated for the average manager in that he has in his commission men who were never in favor of commission-manager government. It is a large part of the work of the manager to keep these men from developing active antagonism. He must have no feelings in

the way some of his recommendations are rejected. Possibly it may be for the good of the community that they are. He always knows that the records will show just what his recommendations were on the various propositions. Many of the people come to understand these handicaps. Perhaps, too, the commission may come to realize in time that his advice is not lightly given, in fact that his action and advice is exactly what they are paying for. He must not feel irritated if the commission refuse to accept entirely his recommendations. It is their city and they are responsible to the people.

In the light of these facts, we come again to the conclusion which has often been mentioned in our meetings, that no people can or will have a government better than the majority of the citizens deserve and desire, and, out of this conclusion, yet another,—that no form of government can correct errors in thought on the part of its citizens.

#### MOLDING MUNICIPAL THOUGHT

Our government is built on the idea that the majority of our citizens will inform themselves on civic and national facts. It is obviously possible to achieve the ideal better in national policy than in civic conditions. We have for the purpose in the nation a wide variety of periodicals which open up the range of human thought from so many different viewpoints that it is possible to sift them to arrive at sound conclusions.

But in all of our American cities our municipal thought life is molded by the daily press. These papers belong to either one party or the other. Consequently, the news given out is colored with partisanship. I believe that all city managers long for a press that will print city affairs fairly and impartially, that will exercise a criticism constructive and not destructive. I believe the editors also are thinking over this problem. William R. Nelson, of the *Kansas City Star*, has reared for himself a monument more potential than the form adopted by another well wisher of the people who built libraries over the length and breadth of the land. Mr. Nelson did more, because he left the city in which he had spent his energies the paper which he had made great. Moreover, his idea for its future was that of non-partisanship. He realized the educational value of his work. The board of control comprises, by the terms of his will, the presidents of the Universities of Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska.

Our schools have been taken out of politics, but our great universities of the common people—the newspapers—are still in them. The hope for the future is that more of our wealthy men may become interested not only in libraries and colleges and foundations, but also in newspapers, that our editors may adopt the ideals of the non-partisan press. Municipalities would thereby eliminate the expense of cross purposes and misunderstandings. Criticism would point out the road toward betterment and we would have efficient government by a well-informed people.

Still, we can report progress. Dayton has passed through a political struggle, let us hope the last breath of the machine. The people supported the administration. Niagara Falls speaks in election uncompromisingly for her form of government. Just now we have a particular interest in good government. We are a nation at war. At this time there is every evidence of a long struggle, resource against resource. Any waste of funds, any waste of effort is bound to help our enemies. The war is bound to produce a wonderful incentive toward economical government in the United States. We look forward to a year of unprecedented growth.

## RECENT RESULTS IN THE SOCIAL AND CIVIC SURVEY MOVEMENT

BY MURRAY GROSS

*Philadelphia*

THE present year has seen the people of the United States drawn into active participation in the lamentable world conflict, and the interests and efforts of the country centered upon the problems and exigencies of war. This has compelled the nation as a people to stimulate and make effective individual sense of responsibility and service in the affairs of the country, and particularly to study, organize, and make economically available the whole power and resources of the people. This task is so enormous, and the study involved has assumed such character and scope, that it promises to culminate in a general and complete recognition of the scientific survey method as the basis for constructive plans and action, and to lead the way to a new era in the accomplishments of local, state and national life, based on comprehensive investigations in preparation for efforts to solve specific community problems.

### RESULTS OF THE SPRINGFIELD GENERAL SURVEY INSPIRING

In the survey movement, the year 1916 marks the completion as well as the beginning of a considerable number of notable social and civic survey studies which will be the basis for carrying forward comprehensive and co-ordinated plans for community betterment in the social, economic, and political life of the people. To a marked degree, however, it was a year of fruition, a year during which there were in process of realization plans and recommendations worked out by surveys completed or begun in earlier years. Thus it is in the case of Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Ala., Syracuse, N. Y., Newburgh, N. Y., Topeka, Kan., Buffalo, Rochester, N. Y., Norfolk, Va., Richmond, Va., Cleveland.

Nothing has appeared more illuminating as to the force and value of

the scientific survey in community life than the summary of the results of the Springfield general survey prepared by Dr. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the department of surveys of the Russell Sage foundation and published as an article in *The Survey*, February 3, 1917.

It may be well to be reminded that the Springfield general survey, made largely during 1915, covered seven phases of the city's life, including the schools, the mental defectives and insane, recreation facilities, housing, public health, charities, and corrections. Moreover, it dealt with a typical American city with a population of 60,000 people, one of the 80 per cent of incorporated places in the United States that range from 25,000 to 150,000 inhabitants. Hence it is that the developments in this city as a result of the survey are of widespread interest and warrant a brief recapitulation here.

These are some of the developments in Springfield following the survey: *In the public schools*: committees of the board of education reorganized to promote their efficiency; junior high school system adopted; four junior high schools organized; high school organization and course of study changed, including the introduction of better system of supervised study and discipline; modern high school building erected to accommodate about 1,500 pupils previously inadequately provided for; lighting, ventilation, general sanitation, and fire protection of all schools improved; patrons' clubs organized in every district of the city, and nearly every school house used as a social center for neighborhood meetings; manual training, household arts, pre-vocational training and guidance in the schools promoted; school census revised to secure more valuable information; seven branch libraries established in schools and five in other centers; and new salary schedule established for teachers and janitors, with rates based on efficiency. *In recreation*: director of hygiene employed by the board of education for playgrounds, athletics and social centers; athletic organization extended among elementary school children; athletic contests and a play festival held; equipment of park play sections extended; free public golf courses established; bathing beaches constructed; and burlesque theatre cleaned up. *In delinquency and corrections*: sheriff pledged to turn into the county treasury approximately \$7,500 per year profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail; large and flourishing red-light district closed; woman of energy and ability appointed as deputy sheriff; two additional probation officers appointed; juvenile detention home improved; city jail prisoners put at work in farming and gardening on farm land owned by the city. *In health*: child-welfare station to promote infant hygiene work established; movement started for new contagious disease hospital; one hundred and twenty acre farm purchased for a sanatorium for the tuberculous; free dispensary established. *In mental hygiene*: methods improved in handling cases of insane and feeble-minded before the county court; and some improve-

ment in handling cases requiring mental examination before juvenile court. *In charities:* work of associated charities completely reorganized; better co-operation between public and private agencies established; placing out work initiated by Home for the Friendless; trained nurse added to its staff, and physical condition of the children improved; central council of social agencies organized; and city conferences on social work started. *In city and county administration:* more equitable rules for assessing corner lots adopted; cost accounting system installed; detailed monthly reports in issue; better water and fire protection facilities secured, and garbage collection started.

This recapitulation of results demonstrates the force the survey exerted in the city upon official and public opinion alike and is evidence that social and civic improvements went on at a pace which could hardly have been expected to be paralleled without the comprehensive insight furnished by the facts and recommendations of the survey. This survey is particularly worth the attention of every municipal official and citizen of the country.

#### SAN FRANCISCO SURVEY MAKES POSSIBLE A ONE MILLION DOLLAR MUNICIPAL SAVINGS

Out on the Pacific coast, San Francisco is working out the plans of the administrative and government survey made by the New York bureau of municipal research under the direction of Dr. F. A. Cleveland. This voluminous study of the municipal activities of the government of San Francisco presents almost seven hundred pages of intensive investigations and recommendations, which, when carried into effect, will save the people of the city approximately one million dollars annually. As stated by the San Francisco *Argonaut*, it was first the intention of the San Francisco real estate board to conduct an investigation of the "rapidly rising taxes" itself, but the task proved too large. "The financial jungle," so says the paper, "was almost impenetrable. The city accounts furnished nothing from which it was possible to construct a statement of the actual needs of the city in the past or in the future. There were innumerable indications of inefficiency and waste, but it was impossible to identify them except from the basis of some comprehensive and accurate survey."

The general impression left upon the mind by the report of the survey is encouraging in that if there was inefficiency and maladministration they were not of a willful or vicious character. The chapter on financial mismanagement, however, is heavy enough and serious enough to weigh upon the conscience of any municipality. The survey found that nearly a million dollars a year was wasted by five departments of city government,—finance, fire, health, coroner, and public works. In the report, new sources of revenue are estimated at \$52,000 a year, and the assur-

ance given that a "complete revision of the city's license system should add several hundred thousand dollars to the annual revenues." A reform of purchasing methods would save \$100,000 a year. Another \$100,000 a year could be saved on registration expenses. The fire department spends \$88,000 a year more than it should. The department of health ought to economize to the extent of \$33,540. And the department of public works showed a waste of \$500,000 a year.

It is exceedingly regrettable that it is impossible to include here the fifty-five pages of recommendations made in the report, for they constitute a terse program of administrative reorganization and reform of exceptional value to every official municipal administrator as well as every citizen. The abbreviated statement in regard to the financial side of the department of public works, however, is so striking that it is given as an illustration.

"In considering the possible economies in the administration of the public works activities of the city," says the report, "it is first necessary to establish a basic factor of service. In the following tabulation the statement of possible savings is predicated upon a service equal to that now being obtained. The point is not made that it would not be desirable in certain instances to apply the savings which might be effected to increasing a part of the service. The following amounts are calculated on an annual basis:

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Elimination of holiday pay for teams would result in a saving of approximately.....  | \$10,000         |
| Reduction in number of teams and employment of automobile transportation would result in saving.....   | 35,000           |
| Reduction in rate paid for both double and single teams to that of prevailing market rate—approximately.....   | 20,000           |
| Reduction in the general yard assignments.....   | 10,000           |
| Reduction in force through consolidation of corporation yard and night emergency forces.....   | \$10,000— 15,000 |
| Reduction in number of watchmen and the elimination of high priced labor as caretakers.....  | 6,000            |
| The use of the bureau of architecture forces for the design of public buildings (part).....  | 5,000— 10,000    |
| The abolition of the positions of brick inspectors.....  | 2,500— 3,000     |
| The transfer of the high pressure system to the board of public works; the use of uniformed force for operation inspection; the use of pumping plants for manufacture of electric current..... | 75,000—125,000   |
| Reduction in the number of low pressure hydrants in high pressure zone.....  | 8,000— 15,000    |
| The establishment of a central shop and municipal garage.....  | 10,000— 15,000   |
| The handling of part of the building repair work by contract; the closer co-ordination of the power plant force and the revision of the method of controlling work orders.....                 | 10,000— 15,000   |

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| Improved methods of sewer cleaning; the amalgamation of side sewer department with other sewer construction work; the use of improved methods of catchbasin cleaning, and reduction in amount of supervision and administration . . . . .  | \$10,000- 15,000          |
| Improvement in the methods of street flushing; combination of small cleaning gangs; the use of equipment on more than one shift; the purchase and use of more equipment . . . . .  | 25,000- 75,000            |
| The abrogation of expensive dumping privilege agreements; the use of the dumping trestle at the old incinerator . . . . .  | 5,000- 10,000             |
| Improvement of the working force in the bureau of streets; purchase of more roller and automobile hauling equipment; the increased use of contract method of construction; the abrogation of asphalt filler contract agreements; the reduction in yard costs; the reduction in division supervisory overhead costs, etc. . . . . | 100,000-200,000           |
| The reorganization of the department would result in a saving in the cost of supervision and administration through the centralization of functional activities of . . . . .   | 10,000- 15,000            |
| <b>Total . . . . .</b>   | <b>\$450,000-500,000"</b> |

**MINNEAPOLIS SURVEY WELDS EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY CLOSER  
TOGETHER**

One of the most important means of promoting the social and economic welfare of men and women is a proper educational system. For this a thorough knowledge of industrial processes and industrial conditions is necessary. In this respect, one of the most notable additions to the literature on education is the vocational education survey of Minneapolis made by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and published as a bulletin of the United States bureau of labor. It follows the general plan of the vocational education survey of Richmond, having in view an analysis of the conditions pertaining to local industries and systems of education, and a desire to ascertain what kind of instruction is needed, but it is more comprehensive than the earlier study in that the number of industries studied is more numerous and varied. The report of the survey is a volume of six hundred pages, and constitutes an intensive study of the following educational problems: To what extent is there a need for vocational education; to what extent are public schools, other agencies, and apprenticeship meeting the need; what vocational education is needed in the building trades; among the electrical workers; the metal workers; the wood workers; in the flour mills; in the baking business; in the laundries; in the garment trades; among dressmakers and milliners; in the knitting mills; in department store salesmanship; in office work; in home gardening and agriculture;

and what practical arrangements is possible between the schools and the trades and industries.

The facts and conclusions given by the report of this survey are in general peculiar to the same trades and industries throughout the country, and the methods suggested for dealing with the local school and industrial conditions in Minneapolis will be helpful to communities everywhere. The report is an important addition to the means at hand for solving the educational problems of the country.

#### OTHER COMMUNITIES NOW ENGAGED IN SURVEY PROJECTS

Scientific survey methods are now being utilized and applied in the following communities: Nassau county (N. Y.) in the reconstruction of its roads; Newark (N. J.) in the revision of its charter; Springfield (Mass.) in the installation of an accounting system; North Adams (Mass.) in a general program of betterment covering all fields of municipal activities; Plainfield (N. J.) in a general program of community advancement; Stamford (Conn.) in the installation of an accounting system; the state of North Carolina in the audit and realignment of the accounts of its treasurer; San Francisco in a study of its industrial situation; Detroit (Mich.) in a reorganization of the department of public works; Mobile (Ala.) in a study of the school system of the city; the state of Rhode Island in an intensive study of the penal system of the state; Columbus (Ohio) in a comprehensive study of municipal activities; Kansas City (Mo.) in a reorganization of the health department, hospitals, fire department, and certain branches of the public works department; Jamestown (N. Y.) for charter revision and improvement in municipal government; Sharon Parish, Tuscarawas (Ohio) in rural uplift work; Boston (Mass.) in a study of urban disease; Council Grove (Kan.) and Muscatine (Iowa) for general civic betterment; Bridgeport (Conn.) and Penn's Grove (N. J.) in the solution of problems following upon growth of munition-making population.

## NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH<sup>1</sup>

BY WILLIAM H. BALDWIN, 3RD

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

**I**N THOSE muggy days at the end of August when only the press of war work was considered sufficient stimulant to keep Washington hard at work until late into the night, Philander P. Claxton, United States commissioner of education, held a two-day conference which marked a new epoch in the long uphill struggle to give the 9,000,000 ne-

<sup>1</sup> The negro is penetrating to all sections of the country, and the industrial centers which have need for his labor have incurred the responsibility of determining whether he will become an asset through intelligent guidance or a menace to the community

goes in the south the education they must have to take their due place in the body politic. For those whose interests are confined to things "practical," it may be pointed out parenthetically that the south, although 80 per cent rural in population, is draining the surplus food production of the rest of the country to the extent of many millions of dollars a year—and the negro forms the backbone of farm labor in the south.

Two months before Commissioner Claxton called the conference, his bureau had issued a two-volume "Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States." This was the result of three years of exhaustive investigation of 747 institutions by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a specialist of the bureau; and it was made possible through the co-operation of the Phelps-Stokes fund, of New York. Endorsed by leading students of education as the most valuable contribution to their work since the Flexner report on medical schools, Dr. Jones's study nevertheless met with a certain amount of suspicion on the part not only of many negroes in the south, but also of white men identified with certain colleges and so-called universities for the colored youth. Dr. Jones had emphasized the need for the co-operation of the north, the south, and the negro with "an abiding faith" in each other; and the great achievement of the Claxton conference was the revivification of this faith between the leading spirits of these three elements. A man who has attended every important conference on the race question during the past twenty years said the discussion was the frankest and best willed he had ever seen. As the conference divided its five sessions according to the five main divisions of the Jones report, a summary of the discussion will bring out the principal points in the government document.

As a background to his investigation of the private institutions Dr. Jones studied the field of public provision. He finds that the states apportion their school funds according to the total population of each constituent county. The money is then divided between the two races according to the wishes of the county officials, with the result that the negro gets on the average only one-fourth of his just share. In some counties the disproportion increases to twenty to one or worse. As a consequence, most of the schools are taught in abandoned cabins, children of all ages and degrees of mentality from a radius sometimes as great as six miles are crowded in under one teacher, and the average school term is life through neglect. If the former policy is followed it must take into consideration the background of the migrant. Mr. Baldwin's article is at once a review of the Jones report and an account of the conference called by Commissioner Claxton. The Jones report is entitled: "Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States," prepared in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes fund under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, specialist in the education of racial groups. United States Bureau of Education. Volumes I and II. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

less than six months. As for the teachers, there are only 30,000 of them—one for about every sixty-five children of school age—and of the total at least one-half have had less training than a New York city boy must have to qualify for his working-papers. Bad as the conditions seem at first glance, they are offset, first, by the fact that they are an improvement over the past and, second, by the growing spirit of fair-mindedness and sense of responsibility on the part of the white south. Dr. Jones testifies to this progressivism, and it is significant that the frankest and most outspoken talk of the whole conference was made at this first session by the superintendent of education in Louisiana, a southern white man. It was the unanimous opinion of the conference that the southern states should assume entire charge of the elementary education, freeing the private institutions for the secondary field and special work.

#### THE DEARTH OF TRAINED TEACHERS

But even more generous appropriations from the public funds would not get far without an adequate corps of trained teachers, and this problem came up for discussion at the second session. Dr. Jones's study brings out the fact that some 6,000 new teachers must be recruited each year to keep the present staff of 30,000 teachers filled. Yet only 2,500 young men and women are graduated each year from all the schools which make any pretense of providing teacher-training. Next to increasing the salaries of teachers in colored schools—in some southern states the average annual salary is below the \$150 allowed to jailers for the feeding and clothing of a prisoner—the great need is for county teacher-training schools supplemented by simpler courses in the last year or two of the private secondary schools. At present less than thirty counties out of a total of 1,055 in the south have such schools; but the movement is growing and meanwhile the private institutions are rendering valuable support.

It is in the general field of secondary education that the great contribution of the private institutions is made; for there are in the south only eleven state schools, sixty-seven city high schools, and twenty-seven county training schools for negroes in addition to the sixteen land-grant colleges which are supported in large part by federal funds. Philanthropy, indeed, functioning through individuals and churches in the north and increasingly through the sacrificial offerings of the colored people themselves, has built up 625 schools and colleges valued at \$30,000,000 in land, plant, and endowment, and gives \$3,000,000 annually for the operation of these institutions. Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College are the best known of these schools, but Dr. Jones brings out the fine, though more modest, work of many smaller institutes and colleges which are meeting urgent needs in various parts of the south. And the speakers at the conference—white and colored,

northerners and southerners—bore him out in his tribute to the achievements of private generosity and initiative.

Taking the group as a whole, however, there are certain tendencies which Dr. Jones has found it necessary to criticize, offering at the same time concrete suggestions for future policy. These are briefly as follows: First, the transition from white to colored teachers has been too rapid in many institutions for the maintenance of the proper educational standards. As the colored people as a whole become better educated, they naturally will be in a position to furnish an increasing number of trained teachers; but in the interests of better relations between the races, segregation in teaching colored children would be bad policy. From the early Reconstruction days the north has sent down some of its best sons and daughters to teach the negro and they have brought with them certain contributions to the education of the colored people, which no southerner, black or white, could possibly duplicate. Dr. Jones blames the north largely for an appreciable lessening of this missionary zeal, resulting in a marked decline in the north's influence on the preparation of the millions of negroes for real citizenship in the United States.

#### GARDENING A BASIC STUDY

The second criticism is that the school work too often ignores the environment of the pupils. Eighty per cent of the southern negroes are classed as rural and farming is their chief pursuit; yet even the so-called agricultural schools fail in many instances to give agriculture more than a perfunctory place in the curriculum. He advocates, therefore, a thorough and "enthusiastic" course in gardening for every pupil as fundamental to all school work. With this as a basis he outlines a scheme for building up a correlated plan of education, branching out at the top into such highly specialized schools as Hampton and Tuskegee and such colleges as Howard and Fisk universities. Carrying the adaptation of study to environment a step further, Dr. Jones urges that courses and teaching methods be kept simple especially in the schools drawing their pupils from a backward countryside. Thus, thorough training in the fundamentals of farming and a general knowledge of the use of tools and paint for the repairs and simple construction work of the farm are more to point than a smattering of agronomy, pomology, and such specialized trades as masonry, blacksmithing, and harness-making. And the simpler courses have the added advantage of less cost in equipment and faculty.

The justice of these suggestions was readily recognized at the conference; but when the session on college and university training opened, it was soon apparent that the representatives of many of these institutions were hostile to what they thought was the tenor of Dr. Jones's recommendations in their field. In the ensuing frank discussion, however, those who had come to protest vigorously were shown that they had mis-

interpreted the report's attitude, and in the end they pledged their hearty co-operation in putting into effect the Jones program. At the bottom of the misunderstanding was the jealousy with which the negro guards his opportunities for higher education, opportunities won by the sweat of his own sacrifices and the generosity of the north in the face of complete indifference—often amounting to open hostility—on the part of the white south. His inheritance from slavery is a bad perspective toward the status of manual labor, and even now the splendid agricultural and industrial schools which are consecrated to building up a solid, independent citizenry, are twisted by him into attempts to "keep him in his place." The result has been that through his own churches and through winning the unintelligent generosity of some northerners, the negro has built up scores of so-called colleges and universities which struggle along without the resources, faculty, or even the student body essential to real collegiate work.

It is just these institutions which Dr. Jones would reorganize into valuable parts of the whole educational scheme and supports to the few schools which measure up to college standards; but the proponents of the "colleges" misconstrued his recommendations as a direct attempt on the part of the federal bureau of education to restrict the opportunities of the negro for higher education. What amounted to the charge of "Jim Crowism" in education was raised at the conference. Dr. Jones answered it, first, by proving his conviction that the negro must have ample provision for higher education and, second, by pointing out that misbranding low grade work as college education was no less heinous a crime against the body politic than the sale of adulterated food was against the physical well-being of the nation. Commissioner Claxton, a southerner, who presided over the conference with rare judgment and contributed not a little to the discussion, drove this point home to the protestants when he said that he had been working for years for just the same sort of a reorganization and weeding out of the unfit among the white colleges of the country. The net result was that all who attended the conference unanimously pledged themselves to co-operate in making out of the present chaos in private endeavor an effective whole as the basis for further development.

With the champions of the colored colleges won over to hearty support, the final session of the conference—discussion of ways and means of co-operation between the various elements—closed in a spirit of mutual goodwill and "abiding faith" that entitles the conference to rank as one of the milestones in the progress of better relations between the races. Hereafter the Jones report and the Claxton conference will be considered as one, for the former visualized as never before the shortcomings and potentialities of negro education and the latter gave a new vision and renewed inspiration to the leaders of the north, the south, and the negro.

## TENDENCIES IN CITY SCHOOL BOARD ORGANIZATION

BY BRUCE M. WATSON<sup>1</sup>.

*Philadelphia*

WHEN Bill and I went to school, the problems of school administration were few and simple. The school directors hired the teacher to keep order, and fired him if he didn't. School architecture was "standardized," even to the color of the school house, which was red. Ventilation was unknown. The plumbing consisted of water-pail and dipper. School furniture was made, and nailed down, by the carpenter who built the school-house. Fuel and chalk were the only school supplies. Teacher and pupils did the janitor work.

The course of study, consisting of the three R's, was uniform the country over; so there was no discussion as to what should be taught. Every child used the books which he brought to school—books, oftener than not, from which his elder brothers or sisters, parents, uncles or aunts, had been graduated; so there was no problem of text-book adoptions.

Secondary education was the business of private schools. There were no shops, kitchens nor laboratories; no libraries, gymnasiums nor school gardens. There was no science of teaching; there were no "special subjects"; there were no standard tests, no compulsory attendance, care for defectives, health supervision, open air classes, school clinics, vocational guidance, or civic centers; no Gary system, nor other of the thousand perplexities of the modern school organism.

All of these things have come with the passing years, and have changed the character of school administration from the simplest to one of the most complex problems of management. The school board can no longer be all things to all teachers, patrons, pupils, and the public.

There still remains much to be learned before the ideal will have been reached in this as in every other field of governmental activity. And yet a few propositions may be accepted as proved by the best experience of the country, among them the following:

### LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

*The school board should be a legislative and not an administrative body.*

It should study the needs of the school system in a broad way, determine general policies to be pursued, and employ expert administrators to carry out these policies. It follows as a natural corollary that these experts should be given authority commensurate with their responsibility. The present tendency in this direction was well enunciated at the last

<sup>1</sup>Secretary of the public education and child labor association of Pennsylvania.

meeting of the National Education Association, by Mr. O. M. Plummer, of the Portland, Oregon, school board, who said:

When a board of education, after much consideration, selects a superintendent, its work is half done. When it puts in the balance of the time letting him alone, and looking to him for administrative results, its work is well nigh complete. It is apparently a question of a few years until school board people will confine themselves to the larger policies of the entire system, allowing the details to be worked out by the proper heads.

#### SIZE OF BOARD

*A city school board should consist of from five to nine members, and the size of the city should have little weight in determining the number.*

This number is large enough to include members representing a sufficient variety of types of training, modes of thought, and business or professional experience. It is small enough to work effectively.

Dr. Elwood P. Cubberley, in his book on city school administration sums up the case for a small school board as follows:

The experience of the past century is clearly and unmistakably that a small school board is in every way a more efficient board than a large one. It is less talkative, and hence handles public business much more expeditiously. It is less able to shift responsibility; it cannot so easily divide itself up into small committees, and works more efficiently and intelligently as a committee of the whole.

The tendency toward smaller school boards is shown by the fact that, of the forty cities of the country having a population of over 100,000 in 1905, there were, in that year, seventeen that had school boards of over nine members. The aggregate membership of these seventeen boards was 352, or an average of 22 members for each board.

In 1917, only seven of those cities have school boards exceeding 9 members, and only one has a board of over 15 members. The aggregate membership of the seventeen boards has been reduced to 198, and the average to 12. The most notable changes made during the present year in the direction of smaller boards have been in New York, from 46 to 7; Detroit, from 21 to 7; and Chicago, from 21 to 11.

#### ELECTION AT LARGE

*Members of the school board should be chosen to represent the city at large, and not by districts.*

This change comes along naturally with the smaller board. Of the forty cities mentioned above, thirteen had board members chosen by wards or districts in 1905. All but four of these had changed in 1917 to representation of the city at large. The advantages of representation of the city at large are two: First, better men, those who have a city-wide reputation and standing, rather than petty ward politicians, are chosen. Second, members so chosen see the needs of all of the schools of all of the

city all of the time, and work to that end, rather than to secure for their individual wards or districts or constituents some material advantage in the way of school buildings, equipment, or appointments, often inimical to the best interests of the schools.

#### ELECTION OR APPOINTMENT

*The ratio of the number of cities having elective boards to the number having appointive boards remains practically stationary, about 2 to 1.*

Accordingly the experience of cities employing either of these two methods is not conclusive as to its advantage over the other. And yet it is significant that no report from a city having an elective board suggests a change to an appointive board, while several from cities having appointive boards make a plea for an elective board.

From one city having a board appointed by the mayor comes this report: "In this city only one mayor in ten rose to the occasion and appointed representative citizens. The other nine appointed political heelers, gumshoe politicians or personal friends." Of the situation in Chicago the *School Board Journal* says, "A law taking the appointing power out of the hands of the mayor, making the school board elective, and requiring non-partisan choice of all candidates, is the only hope for a true solution of the difficulty." Other cities, like New Haven, Jersey City and Newark, seem to have had a happier experience with appointment by the mayor.

Where boards are elected at large the plan is generally satisfactory, the only changes suggested being in the particular method. Election by wards is universally condemned.

*Board members should be chosen for relatively long terms, and preferably not more than one or two at a time.*

By the observance of this rule, sudden reversals of school policy are avoided; there is little temptation to an individual or group of people to "put over" something on the schools, and better choices result from centering the interest of voters upon one or two names at a time.

#### WOMEN ON SCHOOL BOARDS

*There is an extension of legislation making women eligible to vote for members and hold membership in school boards.*

However, as far as available records show, there is little tendency on the part of cities to increase the number of women members of their school boards. Even in states that have equal suffrage the practice of electing women to school boards is not general. The writer recalls two cities which elected women to membership in their school boards for several years, and later discontinued the practice. This apparently was not due to any deliberate change of policy, and certainly not to dissatisfaction with women's service in the board. Wherever chosen they have per-

formed the duties of the office with dignity and intelligence, with exceptional devotion and conscientiousness.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the trend of school board organization in the directions herein outlined is found in recent enactments of state legislatures, and in provisions of newly revised or reconstructed city charters. Thus have been crystallized into laws these principles that have first received recognition through voluntary action of individual school boards.

The school code enacted by the last legislature of New York takes a most advanced step, by prescribing as follows:

All present boards of education having more than nine members shall be reduced to nine, and that of New York city to seven.

In all cities hereafter created the board of education shall consist of five members, elected at large for five years, one each year.

In all cities the superintendent of schools shall have direction of all employes, including supervisors, teachers, janitors, health supervisors, etc.

Teachers and other employes of the education department shall be appointed only on recommendation of the superintendent of schools.

The superintendent shall have a seat in the board and the right to speak on all matters, but not to vote.

The superintendent shall have power to suspend teachers, recommend text-books for adoption, prepare the context of the course of study authorized by the board, etc.

In conclusion, we are justified in believing that the present trend in school board organization is altogether in the direction of greater efficiency and consequently of better schools, more judicious expenditures, and better returns for the money and effort.

## CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY HOMER TALBOT

*University of Kansas*

THE prime significance of the National Public Ownership Conference, held in Chicago, November 25, 26 and 27, seems not to be found in the resolutions of immediate or ultimate action, but in the rather clear indication that this meeting represents the beginning of a nation-wide *organized* public opinion in favor of the public ownership of public utilities.

That public sentiment in support of municipal ownership of local public utilities and federal ownership of the telegraphs, telephones and railways, has been gaining, quietly but steadily, is a fact well known to careful students of present-day public affairs.

What the movement has lacked, up to the calling of the recent conference, has been national organization. The Public Ownership League

of America is expected to bring together and unite in common counsel and action the hitherto disassociated persons and organizations favoring the new rule in public utility control.

#### PERSONNEL AND PROGRAM

The gathering at Chicago was remarkable alike in its personnel—representative of men and women of almost all parties and walks of life—and in the practical, "get results" character of the discussions.

There was Charles Zueblin—who spoke vigorously and effectively of the need of public ownership of railways, both from the military and economic standpoints; former congressman David J. Lewis, of Maryland, member of the federal tariff commission, who was given the closest attention in his disclosures of the immediate need of public ownership of the telephones and telegraphs; former governor Edward F. Dunne, who gave an address on public ownership movements in Illinois; Delos F. Wilcox and Edward W. Bemis, who discussed financial preparation for public ownership, and the question of value; Albert M. Todd, Otto Cullman and Theodore F. Thieme, successful business men backing the movement for public ownership of public services; C. W. Koiner, of Pasadena, Cal., Willis J. Spaulding, of Springfield, Ill., R. B. Howell, of Omaha, and J. G. Glascock, of Winnipeg, practical operators and managers of municipally owned public utility systems; and representatives of powerful farmers' and labor organizations.

Ably handling the publicity service was Hugh Reid—who, with Carl D. Thompson, the dynamic secretary, were two of the prime movers of the occasion.

The number present? One would say somewhat larger than the total in attendance at the meetings of the several municipal good government associations at Detroit.

#### BENEFITS OF CITY OWNERSHIP RECOUNTED

Results gained through municipal ownership of public service undertakings in the Pacific Coast cities and in Kansas were discussed; the story of the obtaining of low priced electric current from the plant operated by the sanitary district of Chicago was told; and accounts of service gains and rate reductions from the municipal electric plants of Pasadena, Cal. and Springfield, Ill.

Public ownership of the coal supply was also a topic of particular interest. The sentiment of the entire meeting favored immediate public control of the supply at the mouths of the mines; and the delegates generally felt the best permanent solution of the problem lay in the adoption of the policy of public ownership of the coal mines.

The story of how a municipal coal yard in Kalamazoo, Mich., had

resulted in a saving to folks who were cold—if not wealthy—of \$1.75 a ton on anthracite, \$1.90 on bituminous coal, and \$4 a ton on coke, was told by the mayor of the city, James B. Balch.

Incidentally: May it not be true that the real “city managers” of American cities are executives of the type of Mayor Balch?

#### DISCUSSION OF “REGULATION” IN WISCONSIN

Disinterested students of the indeterminate franchise law obtained by the private utility companies in Wisconsin, have long been hoping that the opponents of the act would be accorded the privilege of a hearing, at some meeting of national importance. This hope was realized at Chicago. The important provisions—and omissions—in the Wisconsin regulation scheme were brought clearly into light by Daniel W. Hoan, mayor of Milwaukee. For the information of its readers, perhaps the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW may find space to publish in whole or in part the address of the executive of the Badger state’s largest municipality.

#### “PUT THE FLAG OVER THE RAILROADS”

That the President of the United States immediately take possession and control of the systems of railway transportation, as authorized by act of congress of August 29, 1916, was the leading resolution unanimously adopted at the conference.

The railroad resolution attracted national attention, and is given in full below:

*Resolved*, That in connection with the movement for the public ownership and operation of those utilities which have been shown by experience to be most efficiently and economically conducted in the public interest by direct public administration, the conference of the Public Ownership League of America calls attention to the great present exigencies of a military and domestic character demanding the immediate exercise of the powers vested in the President of the United States, and urges him:

To take possession and control of the systems of railway transportation, as authorized by the act of congress, of August 29, 1916; and to operate the same so that the necessary materials of war and the domestic necessities of the people may receive the prompt and efficient service which only the unification under government possession and administration of the railway agencies of the country can supply.

Other resolutions adopted favored the government ownership of the coal supply and coal mines; the public ownership of Niagara power development; the extension of the parcels post, and the public ownership under the United States post office department of the telephone and telegraph service.

## PERMANENT ORGANIZATION FORMED

A constitution for the non-partisan Public Ownership League of America was submitted to the delegates, and adopted; provisions were undertaken for the raising of a modest sum for going ahead with the educational work needed for the success of the cause; and plans made for the drafting of desirable men as executive committeemen.

Albert M. Todd was elected president for another year, and Charles H. Ingersoll of New York was re-elected treasurer.

## A SUGGESTION TO THE COUNCIL

The following is submitted to the officers and council of the National Municipal League by a friend of both the Public Ownership Association and the National Conference on Good City Government:

In the making of the arrangements for the annual meetings of the two organizations in 1918, is it not worth serious consideration that plans be made, if possible, for the two organizations to hold their next annual conferences in the same city, and with one immediately following the other?

## EDITORIAL

## THE ANNUAL MEETING

The first war time convention of the National Municipal League brought out an overwhelming sentiment that the League's services were more needed now than ever before, and that its resources and organization should be extended to meet the new demands upon it. There was but one feeling, and that was that we could not hope to win the battle for democracy on the larger battle ground if it were to be neglected or overlooked in the cities.

As a step towards putting the League's work upon a more efficient basis, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, in times of national emergencies such as now confront the country it is well to take stock of our social and municipal forces and determine wherein our voluntary associations and activities can be better organized and co-ordinated for more efficient promotion of good government:

*Therefore Be It Resolved*, by the National Municipal League in annual meeting assembled that the president of the League appoint a committee of five (5) members from different cities of the country, to examine into the records of the League, to analyze its contributions and subscription lists, to inquire into its activities, to consider the possibility of increasing its income, expanding its field of effort and perfecting a closer co-ordination of its work with other associations in closely allied fields of effort, and to make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting.

Meeting with the League were the city managers' association, the civic secretaries' association, the conference for governmental research, and

the newly formed association of state municipal leagues. This arrangement is greatly to be desired, but another year steps will have to be taken so that the various programs will be carefully co-ordinated and made to fit into one another more effectively than was the case at Detroit. One of the suggestions advanced was that the mornings be devoted to business and departmental conferences, the afternoons to joint meetings, and the evenings to rallies, one of which would be devoted to the annual addresses of the presidents of the several organizations. Some such arrangement is really necessary to prevent the dissipation of energy and attention through attempting to be in several places at one time.

The plan of having all the sessions in one hotel worked out admirably, facilitating the intermingling of the members which must prove of great benefit. It was unfortunate that more Detroit people did not avail themselves of the opportunity of meeting the leaders in civic work and hearing the series of admirable papers and discussions presented.

One feature of the meetings was the presence of a number of men who sharply challenged the prevailing sentiment in the League, notably in the matter of non-partisanship. In this way a very real discussion of disputed questions was brought about. It is to be hoped that the program committee for the 1918 meeting will arrange for a still further discussion along these lines, although there were some who felt that the League's position might be misunderstood. There is little to be feared in this direction for from the beginning the League has been the open forum where earnest men and women have exchanged views with regard to ways and means as well as principles. It is only in this way that an effective working agreement can be developed.

Another year the program committee should make sure that the addresses and papers are responsive to the titles. In several cases the subjects announced were merely starting points for discussions interesting in themselves, but not pertinent to the questions to be considered. This was notably the case in the discussion of budgets, where there is a marked difference of opinion.

# DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

## I. BOOK REVIEWS

**SEPARATION OF STATE AND LOCAL REVENUES IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D. Vol. LXXVI, No. 2, of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 195. \$1.75.

This monograph covers the historical development of the use of separate sources of revenue by state and locality in the United States as shown in four states where complete separation has been tried: Delaware, New York, Connecticut and Pennsylvania; three states in which a partial separation has been made: New Jersey, Vermont, West Virginia; and California which adopted complete separation in 1910 at one move, in contrast to the gradual development which took place in the other states. There is also a chapter devoted to the movement in the United States as a whole.

Of the four states that have tried complete separation, Delaware has found it successful, but as the author says, this state is so small it can hardly be considered as offering much evidence of the practicability of this scheme of taxation. New York, Connecticut, and Vermont have abandoned it. We are given the impression in the chapter on California that the plan there works admirably, but in the conclusion the author says that it is being maintained with difficulty. In spite of these seeming failures, Miss Newcomer reports a general tendency throughout the United States towards partial separation, that is, states are making greater use of other taxes than the general property tax, as for example, corporation, inheritance, and income taxes.

Advocates of separation offer it as one of the means of progress. They claim (1) it gives home rule, (2) that it is in accord

with the natural divisions of governmental activity and follows the principle already laid down in national and state revenues, (3) that it offers improved administration, (4) that it equalizes assessments, (5) that it equalizes the burden between different kinds of property.

Their opponents argue that (1) a unified system is better because most of the progress in taxation in the last few years has come through state tax commissions and separation keeps the localities free from such centralizing agencies; (2) it takes from cities their best sources of revenue, that is, corporation taxes; (3) it leads to wastefulness, (4) it does not give an elastic tax. The first of these objections is the greatest. The author of this book thinks, however, that there is no necessary connection between decentralized administration and separation, and in her concluding chapter even goes so far as to say that administration of state finance has been distinctly centralized by separation. This may be true of those taxes reserved to the state but can hardly be true of those reserved to the locality. Such a conclusion seems scarcely justified in view of the statement made regarding California: "The effect of separation on the centralization of administration has been much the same here as elsewhere. Separation, while bringing intangible property and that tangible property most difficult to assess, *viz.*, the operative property of corporations, under state control, has tended to decentralize the administration of the general property tax."

The book throughout gives one the impression of advocacy of separation yet the fairness of treatment may be well illustrated by the concluding paragraph:

"There are no advantages to be derived from complete separation of sources which cannot be derived in other ways, and

there is little likelihood that it will become a permanent feature of any state's system; but as a transitional state in the movement from the general property tax widely applied to classification for taxation it will doubtless play an important part. In the states where it has been introduced thus far it has been a mark of progress."

The work is both factual and interpretative. It is carefully done, and is a real addition to literature on taxation.

ROY G. BLAKEY.

*University of Minnesota.*

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**THE BUDGET.** By René Stourm. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. XXVII+619. \$3.75 net.

This is one of the publications of the institute for government research at Washington, and is a companion to the volume on "The Financial Administration of Great Britain," issued by the same institute. The latter was a special report by investigators commissioned by the institute. For a general study of the subject, covering the experience of other countries besides England, the institute judiciously availed itself of a standard French work, the seventh edition of which was translated. The task was not easy as M. Stourm writes from the standpoint of French experience and uses terms not always readily intelligible to an American reader. The translator remarks that "the difficulties of rendering official and technical French into the English language, barren of corresponding terms, can be appreciated only by one who has attempted it." These difficulties have been sufficiently overcome to enable the American reader to get an intelligent idea of budget procedure in all the principal countries of the world, albeit some details are so charged with technicality as to be difficult reading. The principles of sound budget procedure are made clear, and the information presented is of the highest value for light and guidance to the United States.

Although M. Stourm views the subject from the standpoint of French experience, it so happens that reform there has had to

contend with influences of the same nature as those which disturb American practice,—committee arrogance, "pork-barrel" appropriations, and conflicts between the senate and the house. The American situation is, however, peculiar in that in it the senate has the superior weight, whereas in other countries the superiority rests with the assembly. But this superiority appears to be due rather to the fact that the administration is present in the assembly than to any intrinsic reasons. This is but one among various circumstances that suggest that effective budget reform will involve extensive administrative readjustments. This is distinctly pointed out by Professor Charles A. Beard, who contributes an introduction to this translation which enhances the value of the work.

HENRY JONES FORD.

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**THE SOCIALISM OF TO-DAY.** Edited by William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Harry W. Laidler, and other members of a committee of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Pp. 642.

This volume is designed to be a source-book of the modern Socialist movement throughout the world. Its editors are such as will recommend it to the intelligent reader whether he be or be not a Socialist. By their joint labors these men have brought together a collection of official Socialist documents, unofficial Socialist utterances, and historical memoranda of exceedingly high importance. A full table of contents, frequent cross-references throughout the text, and an adequate index, greatly increase the value of the publication. Its editors have well fulfilled their purpose, for they have indeed produced a book which will lead to a better understanding, and facilitate the scientific study, of the modern Socialist movement.

The material collected is well classified. The first 369 pages, comprising Part I, are devoted to the movement internationally and by nations. Socialism in Germany is given 30 pages, Socialism in

the United States 44 pages, and so on. Part II is devoted to "The Socialist parties and social problems." Here the documents and readings are arranged according to subject matter primarily, and the documents within a chapter are seldom drawn from less than two or three nations. Here are taken up, under their proper titles, problems of labor unionism, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, unemployment, high cost of living, trusts, government ownership, taxation, immigration, proportional representation, and other pressing social, economic, and political questions. The purpose of each chapter is clearly to show where the Socialist parties stand, and to show, if need be, what controversies there may be within the party on questions of principle or expediency. It is in this second part of the book that there appears a chapter on "municipal Socialism" which will be of exceedingly great interest to readers of the REVIEW.

By "municipal Socialism," according to the International Socialist Congress of Paris, 1900, "is not to be understood a special kind of Socialism, but only the application of the general principles of Socialism to a special domain of political activity. The reforms which fall under it are not and cannot be presented as realizing a collectivist society. They are presented, however, as means that the Socialists can and should utilize for preparing and facilitating the coming of that society. The municipality may become an excellent laboratory of decentralized economic life, and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of Socialist majorities against the bourgeois majority of the central government as soon as a considerable degree of autonomy is realized" (pp. 532-533).

Municipal Socialism means, then, something more than municipal ownership. For example the French Socialist party's municipal program of 1912 includes, among other "demands," the following: proportional representation, the referendum as applied to city affairs, the right of municipalities to form unions and federations, revision of the laws of eminent do-

main in order to facilitate measures necessary to the hygiene and sanitation of cities, formal recognition of the right of city laborers to unionize, the eight-hour day for municipal employes, abolition of the octroi, at least on foodstuffs, municipal insurance against fire, and a score more equally interesting. "Communal autonomy" or home rule is the first plank in the Italian Socialist party's municipal program (pp. 536-538, 544).

In Italy the year 1914 was marked by a heated controversy within the party over the question whether local Socialist parties should be permitted to fuse with other parties for purposes of temporary political success. A strong minority insisted upon this right, and seceded from the party rather than yield. In the following summer elections the Socialists united with other radical elements in Naples and Ancona with consequent success in the elections, whereas in Rome, where the Socialist party refused to soil itself by fusion with the bourgeois Democratic *bloc*, the Clerical-Conservative candidates carried the day, while the straight Socialist vote was unusually small. The only possible explanation was that many Socialists had voted secretly for the Democratic group of candidates. Had all the Socialists done so, some Democratic candidates would probably have been elected (pp. 539-547).

These are but specimens of the material in this chapter. Here are to be found also the American Socialist party's 1912 report on commission government, with discussion (pp. 549-557), a tentative draft of a model city charter (pp. 557-559), and a suggested municipal program for the United States (pp. 559-562). Then follow the New York and Milwaukee Socialist parties' municipal programs, and a statement of the results of Socialist administrations in Berkeley, Butte, Schenectady, and Milwaukee (pp. 562-580). The chapter closes with a statement by Mr. Sidney Webb on municipal taxation (pp. 580-581).

How the Socialist party profits by the non-partisan ballot is interestingly attested by two Socialists in the discussion of

the report on commission government. In the words of Delegate Wilson of California, "in every city in the state of California where we were conducting a campaign with the non-partisan ballot, the short ballot and the non-partisan ballot . . . [we found] that the only political organization that could hold its strength through the campaign, both primary and final, was the Socialist organization" (p. 556). Delegate Le Suer gave exactly the same testimony for his home town in North Dakota. The convention of 1912 finally voted to leave to the state Socialist parties the difficult question of indorsing or condemning the commission form of government.

These are some of the things to be found in a volume which in its title betrays no interest whatever in municipal government.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

*University of Minnesota.*

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OUTDOOR THEATRES: The design, construction and use of open-air auditoriums. By Frank A. Waugh. Illustrated. Boston: Richard G. Baxter. Pp. 151. \$2.50.

This is the first orderly presentation in book form concerning architectural arrangements for outdoor auditoriums, though there have been many magazine articles, usually discussing some one example of open-air theatres. In the introduction to this pleasing volume, Percy Mackaye writes: "In direct relation to the redeeming of country and industrial districts through constructive leisure is the founding of outdoor theatres for the people." In this paragraph Mr. Mackaye gives us a name for that recreational use of time now coming to be known as essential to the well-rounded productive existence of every worth-while man or woman. "Constructive leisure" is right, as a phrase and as an ideal, if we Americans are to become and remain reasonably efficient.

Some of us have had dreams of a time when there would exist in connection with capitols and city halls, and in juxtaposition to other ceremonial locations, defi-

nitely arranged outdoor auditoriums which would not only serve a most excellent purpose in affording opportunities for the presentation of other dramas in the open air than those concerned with baseball and football, but would be used on great occasions instead of the abominable wooden "grand-stands." These are invariably ugly, invariably of wasteful expense, not seldom dangerous to life and limb, and almost always the reason for that wrongful use of our national flag which occurs when it hides raw hemlock or spruce construction.

Professor Waugh tells why the outdoor theatre is worth while, how it may best be used, what are its physical essentials, and where existing examples in the United States may be seen. The illustrations in this important volume include diagrams and details, and really illustrate. As we come to realize better the net civic value of making possible "constructive leisure," and the dignity of doing away with footy grand-stands for inaugurations and similar ceremonials, this pioneer work will be highly valued.

As always, Professor Waugh writes entertainingly and unconventionally. The volume is good to look at, and good to read.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

*Harrisburg, Pa.*

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THE NATURAL STYLE IN LANDSCAPE GARDENING. By Frank A. Waugh. Illustrated. Boston: Richard G. Baxter. Pp. 151. \$2.50.

The same author who has presented the present status of the outdoor theatre is responsible for what is actually a companion volume in format and time of publication, though there is no interdependence of the two books. Landscape gardening, or architecture, or engineering—and no one of the three nouns is accurately descriptive when associated with its qualifying adjective—is Professor Waugh's vocation, and the natural form of it is his hobby. He writes entertainingly of it, as indeed he always writes, and in addition, sets forth a logical series of reasons for

catholicity in landscape practice. This same catholicity may eventually become "an American style," the establishment of which, in the sense that there is a definite Italian style and a definite Japanese style, Professor Waugh deems doubtful.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is not the place for an extended discussion of the volume in question. It is a proper place to indicate the real value of Professor Waugh's book to those who have to do not only with home grounds and private estates, but who are concerned in the proper and serviceable development of landscape in municipal and state parks. It is safe to say that the candid man who has read this volume will not contentedly submit to any extension of "carpet" bedding, of abnormal displays of stone dogs and wriggling carved vines in marble, in public parks, such as we occasionally see. Nor would any thoughtful reader of Professor Waugh feel satisfied that it is proper to spend money for the rearing in greenhouses maintained with the mohey of the public, of chrysanthemums wonderfully tied out so as to resemble nothing ever conceived by a sane imagination, of vines twisted into the shapes of stars and balls and anchors—all of which were to be seen during the autumn of 1917 in one of the parks of Buffalo.

Professor Waugh's treatise is sound, wholesome, constructive; it is good sense in the shape of good reading. It will be of value in any civic library, private or public.

J. H. McF.



NEW YORK AS AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MUNICIPALITY. Part I. Prior to 1731. By Arthur Everett Peterson, Ph.D. Part II. 1731-1776. By George William Edwards, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. \$5.

This admirable volume establishes a precedent which it is devoutly to be hoped will be followed in the older cities of the country. It is a careful, first-hand documentary study, not of the general history of the city which has been well covered in

other books, but of its governmental life. So far as we recall there has been no exactly similar work undertaken, at least on so extensive a scale. The Johns Hopkins studies in historical and political science contained several volumes, notably the one on Philadelphia by Messrs. Allinson and Penrose, which in their way were important and significant contributions, but they do not approach in extent, thoroughness and detail the present work which is one of the "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" edited by the faculty of political science, Columbia University.

Of the many interesting chapters that on "Regulation of Land and Streets" has a special interest in these days of congestion and zoning. The so-called "Duke's plan" shows the congested area of 1664, when the English took possession as the municipality passed its tenth birthday. From this we see that congestion is not exactly new, nor are city plans. There was no such thing as excess condemnation in those days, but there were city lands, the sale of which began as far back as 1686, for this volume goes back to the seventeenth century on the theory that the conditions then were essentially those of the eighteenth century. These city lands were sold on various conditions, appropriate to the time. The street cleaning problem then as now was a pressing one.

An excellent perspective is maintained throughout both parts, both of which abound in documentary evidence and sanely and conservatively expressed views and conclusions. The treatment is topical, including such subjects as the city's relation and control over trade, industry, docks, ferries, police, streets and finances, together with illuminating references to the early economic and political life of the city. The chapters dealing with the political aspects have their value enhanced by comparative references to other Colonial cities, especially Philadelphia, and by a discussion of the influences of religious organizations on the politics and development of the city.

**THE CHILDREN'S LIBRARY: A DYNAMIC FACTOR IN EDUCATION.** By Sophy H. Powell. With an introduction by John Cotton Dana. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Pp. 460. \$1.75.

This work is of marked value to librarians, teachers and parents—in short, to all who are interested in children. "It is presented in the hope," to quote from the author's preface, "that it will help librarians understand better the modern educational attitude toward children in relation to books, and teachers to appreciate the value of the work which could be done by the public library for the school."

It is a mine of information, well digested, comprehensive, clearly presented, and for years it may well be the starting point for new developments in library work for children. Much library work for children is hysterical, foolish, or faddy, and proceeds from a desire to do something,—a very laudable desire—without any real knowledge of child psychology or the social significance of education and the place of the book in it.

Mrs. Powell discusses the subject in eleven chapters, as follows: The place of books in education, Early libraries for children, The elementary-school library, The high-school library, The library resources of country children, Public library relations with public schools, The public library an integral part of public education, The children's room, The children's librarian and her training, Aids to library work with children, Book selection, Some social aspects of library work with children.

Not the least valuable part of this work is the classified bibliography of 116 pages.

SAMUEL H. RANCK.

*Grand Rapids, Mich.*



**MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.** By Carl D. Thompson. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1917. 12 mo. Pp. xi-114.

Mr. Thompson is the secretary of the newly organized National Public Ownership League, which held its first public conference in Chicago in November, 1917. His little book is written in a popular

style and is intended for propagandist use. He does not confine his attention entirely to franchise utilities, but gives considerable space to public ownership of all sorts of things, such as parks, slaughter houses, land and even schools. The book is very optimistic and uses figures freely. Evidently, Mr. Thompson believes that figures, like the Sabbath, were made for men's use and enjoyment. It would doubtless be easy for a protagonist of private ownership to pick flaws in some of the statements made and the statistics given, but he would have hard work to overcome the sound arguments presented on behalf of municipal ownership. While claiming large financial benefits to the public on behalf of this policy, Mr. Thompson does not overlook the fact that much broader considerations than mere cheapness of service lie at the basis of municipal ownership philosophy. The diffusion as compared with the concentration of wealth, the improvement of labor conditions, the elimination of one of the most powerful motives leading to municipal inefficiency, and other fundamental things are recognized. That public functions should be performed through responsible public agencies, instead of being exploited for private profit, is a truth that is not even yet widely enough appreciated.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

*New York City.*



**IMPERIAL YEAR BOOK FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1917-1918.** Edited by A. Southall, assisted by C. H. Moody. Ottawa: The Mortimer Company, Ltd. \$3.

This year book is described as "essentially a textbook for the Canadian citizen." Replete with statistical and descriptive information concerning various phases of dominion and provincial life in Canada, it is the third of the series. The information concerning the larger cities is full and interesting, but cities as a class are not as adequately treated as it is to be hoped they will be in future volumes. There are several interesting tables dealing with

municipal finance, bond sales and assessments. It is interesting to note that these data are included under the head of provinces, which have a large measure of administrative supervision and control over cities. Naturally there is a very considerable amount of information concerning Canada's participation in the war.

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**THE HISTORY OF TAMMANY HALL.** By Gustavus Myers. New York: Boni & Liveright, Inc. 105 W. 40th St. \$2.50.

Myers' history of this famous, not to say notorious, New York political organi-

zation, first published in 1901 has become almost a classic. For years the original edition has been out of print. A new firm of publishers has done a courageous and public-spirited service in bringing out this greatly needed new and revised edition. The author has in this, as in his other books (notably his three-volume "History of Great American Fortunes") done a careful piece of research work and written a telling story of this remarkable body. Its very restraint is one among its many elements of strength and authoritativeness.

## II. BOOKS RECEIVED

**DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL WORK FOR BALTIMORE AND MARYLAND, TOGETHER WITH LIST OF CHURCHES IN BALTIMORE AND VICINITY.** Prepared under the Supervision of the Baltimore Federated Charities. Fourth Edition. Baltimore, Md. 1917.

**THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN NEW JERSEY.** By Ralph Simpson Botts, Ph.D. New York. 1917. Pp. 349.

**DRINK AND THE WAR.** From the Patriotic Point of View. By Marr Murray. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Pp. 156. 1s. net.

**THE ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.** By Francis Newton Thorpe, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 279. \$1.75.

**THE FOOD PROBLEM.** By Vernon Kellogg and Alonzo E. Taylor. With a preface by Herbert Hoover. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 213. \$1.25.

**THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY.** Studies in the Conservation of Permanent National Resources. By Richard T. Ely, Ralph H. Hess, Charles K. Leith, Thomas Nixon Carver. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 378. \$2.

**A HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Eldon Cobb Evans. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 102.

**AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ECONOMY.** By F. Stuart Chapin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Economics in Smith College. New

York: The Century Company. Pp. 316. Illustrated. \$2.

**A MUNICIPAL EXPERIMENT, OR THE HALL OF RECORDS POWER PLANT.** By Reginald Pelham Bolton. New York: The Bureau of Public Service Economics, Inc., 55 Liberty Street. Pp. 236.

**POSTAL SAVINGS.** An Historical and Critical Study of the Postal Savings Bank System of the United States. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 176. \$1.25.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ROTARY CLUBS, ATLANTA, GA., JUNE 17-21, 1917.** International Association of Rotary Clubs, 910 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. \$1.50.

**STATE GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA: A MANUAL OF PRACTICAL CITIZENSHIP.** Philadelphia: The Harper Press. Pp. 272.

**STATE SANITATION.** A Review of the Work of the Massachusetts State Board of Health. By George Chandler Whipple. Vol. II. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 452. \$2.50.

**SELF-SURVEYS BY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.** By William H. Allen. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. Educational Survey Series. Pp. 394. Illustrated. \$3.

**UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC SERVICE.** By William H. Allen, Director, Institute for Public Service. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 281. \$1.50.

## III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

**County Government in Texas.**<sup>1</sup>—To the scanty literature on county government reform, this is a welcome and important contribution. Seventy-five pages are given to a detailed description of the uniform governmental structure which Texas law gives to the counties of that state. The various county officers are described, their powers and duties and their relations to the smaller divisions of government and to the state. A chart of the Texas county exhibits the great and unnecessary complexity of the county organization in contrast with a county-manager plan.

The remaining pages are given to criticism. Here the author has necessarily ignored constitutional restrictions and popular prejudices in his bold projects for reconstruction.

Among the faults of the present system, Dr. James lists rigidity and constitutional interference, misfit uniformity, lack of home rule and lack of power. He suggests removal of the county attorney, judge, county clerk, sheriff, constables and justices of the peace to the control of the state which makes the laws which they are supposed to enforce. For tax officers who collect both state and local taxes, he proposes local appointment and state supervision accompanied by state financial aid. Likewise with health, education and roads.

A commission-manager plan of the usual municipal pattern is proposed with five county commissioners who appoint a manager who in turn appoints and supervises the rest, thus taking numerous officers out of politics and achieving a short ballot. The fee system is condemned. County police are proposed. For subordinate areas abolition is suggested in favor of the local assessment principle, while for major cities the proposal is to let them be counties and assume all county functions.

Except for the debatable proposal as to an extension of the principle of state aid, there is nothing new or striking in the

list of proposed changes, but by the bringing together of all the reforms that are now accepted as orthodox among the handful of students of county government, the author draws an interesting picture of the goal that lies ahead. Far ahead! For the concluding pages are devoted to the constitutional provisions of Texas touching counties and it seems plain that it would require a political earthquake and a constitutional convention to untangle the existing scheme.

Presumably the University could not go muck-raking very vigorously among the Texas counties to collect the kind of evidence that is needed to lift the pamphlet from the academic and legal class and make its proposals a live issue in the state. The chief lack of the volume is the establishment of a popular grievance against the old-fashioned county plan and against the corrupt and petty political rings which it so often shelters. The complaint of this pamphlet that counties are not up to modern standards of simple organization is not in itself enough to prove the urgency of a change. The difficulty of securing satisfactory evidence is largely due to the pall of silence that overlies county government everywhere by reason of the weakness and political control of our rural press. Civic workers realize vaguely that there is a county problem but "revelations" in the newspaper sense are needed to awaken the public.

Meanwhile let's have more good pioneer work like this to build up an orthodoxy of county government reform! So far, happily, everybody in the field agrees. There are hardly enough of us yet to make a quarrel!

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**The City-Manager Plan for Chicago.**<sup>1</sup>—This sixty-page pamphlet contains the draft of a bill providing for the reorganization of the municipal government of Chicago, along the lines suggested in the model charter of the National Municipal

<sup>1</sup>University of Texas Bulletin no. 1732, by Herman G. James, J.D., Ph.D. 118 pp. pamphlet.

<sup>1</sup>The Chicago bureau of public efficiency, October, 1917.

League. It is explained in the introduction that this draft act submitted by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency is merely the first step in a larger program, which includes "the unification into one municipal entity of all the local governing agencies within metropolitan Chicago, under a plan of simple, centralized, responsible government." The bureau agrees with those who contend that the present is not time for "mere experiments in social and governmental reconstruction," but contends that the form suggested in the draft bill is so elementary in its machinery, and has proved so workable in different parts of the world, that its adoption cannot be considered experimental.

The draft bill is divided into seven parts. The first contains the amending sections; the second discusses the methods of election, qualifications, tenure of office, duties, etc., of the municipal officers; the third is devoted to the city council; the fourth outlines the decision system; the fifth concerns itself with the recall and removal of aldermen; the sixth provides for the redistricting of the city; and the seventh lays down the procedure for the adoption of the act.

The main points are:

1. Reduction of number of aldermen from 70 to 35: one from each ward; term of office 4 years; salary \$4,000; and subject to recall.

2. The mayor (who is the city manager) elected by council for indeterminate tenure; subject to removal by council; names heads of departments except comptroller and clerk; and he must be "a citizen of the United States."

3. Vote power of mayor used only to call attention of council to "faulty ordinances"; vote necessary for passage over veto same as that necessary for original passage.

4. Non-partisan election; nomination by petition; candidates' names rotated by series on ballots; and supplementary elections similar to French method.

5. Recall of aldermen on petition of 25 per cent of those voting at last election; cannot take place until alderman has

been in office one year; also one year after returned by recall election; alderman returned at recall election receives \$500 from city treasury.

6. City to have 35 wards; and to redistrict in 1931 and decennially thereafter.

7. Act to be submitted to popular vote.

It is worth noting that the word "*city manager*" does not appear in the act. The "*mayor*" has all the essential powers of the manager under the commission-manager plan.

H. G. HODGES.<sup>1</sup>

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**The Survey of the Minneapolis Teachers' Retirement Fund.**—The Minneapolis teachers' retirement fund association, an organization of the 1,600 public school teachers of Minneapolis, is the outgrowth of a voluntary association in 1909 of about 600 Minneapolis teachers in a society in which, three years later, membership was made legally compulsory for all teachers. Upon completing twenty years of service and payment of \$400 into the association's retirement fund, a member becomes eligible to retire on an annual pension of \$333.33. Those remaining longer in service pay \$25 a year during the next ten years and on retirement receive an additional \$16.67 allowance for each year of such payment. The maximum pension is \$500 a year, payable on retirement after completion of 30 or more years of service and payment of a total sum of \$650. The city contributes to the fund annually the proceeds of a one tenth mill property tax, which about equals the teachers' current contributions.

The liberal allowance made after relatively short service has induced most teachers to retire between the ages of 40 and 55 when, the survey states, 90 per cent of them are able to continue teaching. As the organizers failed to provide, either by increased contributions or decreased allowances, for the greater number of years which young pensioners as a class are bound to survive, the annual pension disbursements have, in seven years, overtaken the total annual income of \$63,000.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary, Cleveland city club.

and now threaten to dissipate the \$350,000 accumulated by the combined contributions of city and teachers during the fund's infancy, when pensioners were few. This condition is the inevitable result of the failure, common to nearly all the numerous teachers' pension systems in this country, to ascertain the cost of providing the benefits desired before deciding on the amount to be charged for them—the same fallacy which has brought so many fraternal insurance organizations to grief.

It now appears from the survey that the liabilities to teachers now eligible for pension and to teachers already pensioned, rated (presumably because of their urgency) as "major liabilities" at \$2,795,000 are "so much in excess of all possible assets that there is little necessity for making additional, unnecessary and difficult calculations" of the probably greater liability of the fund on account of prospective pensions for the three fourths of the active teaching force who have taught less than twenty years. Teachers who may retire by paying arrearages add a liability of \$230,000.

Confronted with the necessity for increasing the fund income or reducing both present pensions and prospective allowances of present teachers, the survey recommends:

That annual dues of all teachers be increased to \$50, payable throughout service;

That the city be asked to match these contributions;

That the \$100 a year, with interest, be credited to an individual account for each teacher;

That full refunds, with interest, be allowed both teacher and city when a teacher leaves the service without pension;

That 55 be the minimum retiring age except for disability and 15 years the minimum period of service required for disability retirement; and

That the annuity allowed be that purchasable on an actuarially-sound basis by the accumulated contributions of \$100 a year and interest thereon to the age of actual retirement.

Upon retirement at age 55, a woman teacher would receive, it is stated, as the result of thirty years' contributions of \$100, an annuity of \$409.61. Upon retiring at age 60, after forty years of contributions at the same rate, an annuity of \$795.58 would be paid.

For the sense of security alone which participants in the proposed scheme would have, if no other reason existed, the change from the old plan to that proposed would be well worth while. But there are other inducements. The natural objection to being compelled to save an appreciable sum is overcome by the generous 100 per cent subsidy proposed as the city's share. Service is reasonably prolonged, the cost of service retirement thereby reduced, disability provided for (to be sure in a very limited way), contributions increased to meet fully the reduced cost, instead of ignoring cost entirely as in the past, the possibility of the recurrence of a deficit is eliminated and, so far as the younger teachers are concerned, an avenue of exit from the service is provided which will make it unnecessary, from humanitarian motives, to retain them in the school system when old age shall materially diminish their usefulness, as would be the case were there no retirement system.

No suggestion is offered for reserving out of the fund to the credit of the individual accounts of the teachers now in active service \$272,829.68 already contributed by them, nor for making up, in any way, the additional amounts which should have been contributed by, or on behalf of, teachers long in the service in order to assure them a retirement allowance equal to that which will be produced for those just entering the school system. The desirability of proportioning retiring allowances to the salaries to which the teachers have become accustomed is not admitted, it appears, by the teachers, even as concerns those just entering. Nor is any way provided for carrying the existing pension roll of \$61,000.

The scheme proposed is a pure savings scheme, to be subsidized by the city dollar for dollar so far as it applies to those who actually retire. It so far reverses the past policy with respect to the fund as to propose the substitution of more than sufficient contributions by the city for current insufficient contributions; i.e., contributions are to be made currently not

only on behalf of teachers who will probably remain long enough to earn retirement but on behalf, also, of that large percentage which will assuredly leave the service before becoming eligible for retirement. While these unnecessary contributions will eventually revert to the city, the fact that they are unnecessary, and that correct rates of contribution by the city in any year may be actuarially ascertained with the nicety ordinarily demanded in computation of other municipal sinking fund instalments, makes this feature of the proposed plan worthy of reconsideration and modification.

The survey, notwithstanding indicated defects in detail, presents a mass of useful data collection of which has required much thoughtful and painstaking effort. It will doubtless, like the survey of the old New York city teachers' fund, result in arousing intelligent discussion among teachers which, while involving modification of the proposed plan, will develop necessary realization by the teachers of the fact that because of inroads made by present beneficiaries on moneys not contributed by them, the time is imminent when the fund, as at present constituted, will be unable to pay either standard benefits or those lesser benefits which could have been produced by the current rate of contribution to a system operated on a sound reserve basis.

RALPH L. VAN NAME<sup>1</sup>

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**Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.**—Three interesting pamphlets upon various phases of municipal ownership have recently appeared.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Wilcox's short article<sup>1</sup> is merely suggestive. He points out five barriers to municipal ownership of public utilities: first, constitutional restrictions and il-

<sup>1</sup> Pension examiner, New York city commission on pensions.

<sup>2</sup> Public Utility Advice from the Public Point of View, by Delos F. Wilcox, a reprint from *The American City; Liquor and Public Utilities in Indiana Politics*, by Theodore F. Thieme, Citizens' League of Indiana, Fort Wayne; Municipal Ownership in the United States, by Evans Clark, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70, Fifth Avenue, New York.

liberal charters; second, long term franchises, and numerous franchises for the same kind of utility which have been granted under different conditions and which expire at different times, so that a city is not in a position to deal with one of the utilities comprehensively; third, the legal and economic difficulty of financing extensive utilities; fourth, the low salaries paid to technically trained engineers, accountants, and lawyers as compared with salaries paid by a private corporation; and fifth, the lack of a franchise survey to form the basis for a constructive public utility program as a part of the city plan. Mr. Wilcox does not discuss the methods of overcoming the difficulties, except that he suggests a solution of the financial problem by requiring privately-owned utilities to be paid for within a reasonable period of years, and then to become municipal property free from debt.

Mr. Thieme explains that "every attempt to bring about reforms in governmental conditions in city, county, or state, bumps hard against two powerful obstacles"—privately-owned public utilities and liquor. These are the invisible forces which protect the outworn constitution and enact stifling laws. A new constitution with home rule for cities is fought by this invisible government because the city electors are finding it to their advantage to overthrow both if given an opportunity. "Saloon-keepers entered politics to protect themselves from regulation and control. When public utilities took over our political parties, they also annexed the saloon, and while the saloon furnished the votes for public utilities, they in turn furnished campaign money and protection to the saloon, at the same time dividing the control of public office with the brewers and the bosses." Now the public utilities have decided to use the courts. For instance, in 1913 the legislature of Indiana passed twenty-two amendments to the constitution of which one provided that no law for the recall of the judiciary shall ever be passed, and another created a court of twelve members divided into classes of

three judges, which provision would have given two judges the power to declare whether a law is unconstitutional. As the due process of law clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States practically permits a court to declare unconstitutional any law of which it disapproves, as being unreasonable, the two judges would have had enormous power to protect vested interests. At its next session the legislature was dissuaded from submitting the amendments. As to the saloons, Mr. Thieme says that in one saloon there were found fifteen different printed circulars opposing a constitutional convention.

Mr. Clark shows by means of copious statistics the extent to which municipal ownership has advanced in this country, but that private corporations have retained the cream of the business, except where the public health is concerned. For instance, 30 per cent of all electric light plants were city owned in 1912, but the output of municipal plants per kilowatt hour was only 10,436,276 while that of privately owned plants was 537,526,730. That is, although the number of municipal plants was 30 per cent of the total, their output was only 5 per cent of the total output for the year, because small cities have been compelled to install their plants whereas large cities have not been permitted to do so. The gas, telephone, and street railway systems are very profitable, and these are almost entirely in private hands. But 150 of the 195 cities with populations exceeding 30,000 own their water works, because they do not care to entrust their health to private corporations.

Mr. Clark's tentative hypothesis is: "We, the people of this country, are accustomed to allow a small group of investors to reap huge personal profits from bartering our indispensable public necessities. It is only when our bodily security is threatened that we call a halt. And to this hypothesis there is a significant corollary: when the public need carries with it no large promise of profit, private capital steers clear and public ownership is Hobson's choice."

Although the author is treating the subject of municipal ownership from a socialistic point of view, he is fair throughout, and his arguments are very persuasive.

FRANK ABBOTT MAGRUDER.

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"Pay as You Go" Policy Urged for California Schools.—The September, 1917, issue of the *California Taxpayers' Journal* (304 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.) is devoted mainly to a discussion of school bonds in California, for the purpose of calling attention to mounting school expenditures and of checking reckless bond issues for school buildings which become obsolete long before the bonds are paid. In the opinion of the California taxpayers association a "pay as you go" policy should be imposed by law upon all local authorities in respect to school buildings. "It should be borne in mind," the association says, "that a school building is a non-productive investment financially, and that its value rapidly decreases from year to year. The same number of buildings has to be built whether the money is raised by bonds or by taxation only they cost more than twice as much when paid for by forty-year bonds. . . . When a bond issue is deemed absolutely necessary, it should be a short term serial issue. Such an issue is not only the cheapest, but it sells more advantageously, and is apt to be paid off during the usefulness of the improvement; also, during the life of the generation responsible for it. Ten years is long enough for most bonds, and only in extreme cases are districts warranted in borrowing for as long as twenty years."

The argument for increased tax levies versus bonding is presented concretely by comparing the experience of Portland, Oregon, and Oakland, California. The former, although doubling its population every decade since 1860, and requiring on an average 60 new class rooms every year for elementary schools alone, has paid for its school buildings by current taxation. Oakland, on the other hand, in common with other California cities, has built its schools by issuing forty-year

bonds and is now finding it increasingly difficult to bear the growing interest charges and finance the new school accommodations required.

The facts here set forth in regard to the school bond question in California could doubtless be duplicated in many rapidly growing cities and should raise the question as to the wisdom of borrowing money to pay for regularly recurring expenditures for non-revenue-producing improvements.



**New Sources of Revenue for Minnesota Municipalities.**—The October number of *Minnesota Municipalities* contains a very interesting report made to the league of Minnesota municipalities by the committee on taxation and assessments (p. 156-159). The report points out the need of securing new sources of revenue and discusses in some detail, and with a considerable degree of favorable comment, the topics of special assessments, excess condemnation and special land taxes. It makes no definite recommendations aside from suggesting that these systems be given consideration with the object of ascertaining whether they measure up to the requirements of our American municipal conditions. The subject of taxation, the committee thinks, should be fully discussed at the next meeting of the league and it is particularly urged that all of the important recommendations of the state tax commission be presented to the league for its consideration and action. The establishment of such a practice would go far in the direction of developing the type of co-operation between the state government and the municipalities which has been so highly developed in some of the Canadian provinces.



**Financial Federations.**—Several years ago the Cleveland chamber of commerce instituted a movement whereby the charities of that city were brought together into a federation for the purpose of raising by combined effort sufficient funds for their maintenance. This precedent has been followed and there are now fourteen such federations, five have been aban-

doned, and one is at present inactive. They vary in size from that in Cleveland with a budget of over half a million dollars, to that in Oshkosh, Wis., and Richmond, Ind., where the budgets are \$10,000. In the majority of these cities the plan has only been in operation for two or three years, and on account of the shortness of this period there has been a great difference of opinion as to their success, financial, educational and social. A committee of the American Association for Organizing Charity (130 East 22d Street, New York) composed of W. Frank Persons, of the New York charity organization, William H. Baldwin, of the Washington associated charities, Frank R. Johnson, of the Boston associated charities, and Eugene T. Lies, the general superintendent of the Chicago united charities, was appointed to study all the available data for each city in which a financial federation has been tried. They have published their report in a document consisting of 285 pages, and have reached the conclusion that it is unwise for any other city to undertake this experiment until there is more evidence accumulated to show the unquestioned success of the plan. The report is published by the association.

C. R. W.



**Standardization of Salaries and Grades for the City of Akron, Ohio.**—One by one the more progressive cities throughout the country are falling in line with the standardization movement. The latest report comes from Akron, Ohio, where the local bureau of municipal research, a citizens' agency, has been conducting a study for about three and one-half months and on November twelfth transmitted to the common council a detailed plan for standardizing salaries and grades in the city service.

The recommendations of the bureau of municipal research, in the main, follow along the lines of the standardization that has been worked out for New York city by the bureau of personal service. A slight departure from the New York model worth noting is the omission in the Akron plan of elaborate definitions of

service classes and groups, the specifications being confined entirely to individual positions. The enforcement of the standardization measure, if adopted, will be entrusted to the civil service commission.

The appendix to the report contains a table in which the existing and proposed salary rates for positions in Akron are compared with the lowest, highest and average salary rates for similar positions in fourteen other American cities.

WILLIAM C. BEYER.

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**St. Charles Boys.**<sup>1</sup>—This inquiry was made to test the methods at St. Charles according to the percentage of the boys who "made good" and to discover, if possible, ways and means by which training given in the institution might be more effectively conservative. St. Charles is the state reform school for delinquent boys, situated about thirty miles west of Chicago. It receives boys from all over the state, but naturally, a large percentage of them come from Chicago.

The study, which is summarized in nineteen printed pages, deals with a few

<sup>1</sup> A survey made by the bureau of social service, department of public welfare, city of Chicago, by E. E. Eubank, Ph.D.

specific points which are very wisely directed mainly towards the problem<sup>2</sup> of whether or not the training of St. Charles is followed by good behavior. There is no doubt that in a large share of cases this does not obtain. There is no attempt in this study to criticise the work at St. Charles itself, but it offers evidence that one great weakness in the situation is the lack of an adequate staff of qualified visitors for the work which is only begun at St. Charles. Definite recommendations are made for the work of visitors to the homes of boys released and for the adequate supervision and help of the boys.

The tremendous weakness of the situation in Illinois is shown up candidly.

WILLIAM HEALY.

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**A New List of Commercial Organizations** has been published by the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce of the Department of Commerce. It is a revision of the 1915 list. It is interesting to note that it contains not only all the local commercial organizations but indicates which of them are engaged in civic work. National organizations like the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association are noted.

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—. Section of sanitary code and regulations governing the physical examination of food handlers. 1917. 3 pp.

PECK (T. B.). The layworker in public health education. (New York State.

Health Department. *Health News*, Sept., 1917: 211-218, chart.)

POTTER (F. H.). Prevention first. What the Health Department is doing for New York City. (*Outlook*, Sept. 5, 1917: 17-22, illus.)

RANKIN (W. S.). The new public health [with discussion]. (*Jour. Am. Med. Assn.*, Oct. 27, 1917: 1391-1394.)

SLOANE (G. F.). Meat and milk inspection with regard to public health. (*Jour. Am. Veterinary Med. Assn.*, Oct., 1917: 63-66.)

SMYTH (H. F.) and MILLER (T. G.). A hygienic survey of cigar manufacturing in Philadelphia. (*Medicine and Surgery*, Sept., 1917: 698-718, illus.)

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. A program of public health for cities, by W. C. Rucker. 1917. 6 pp. (Reprint no. 392.)

\_\_\_\_\_. State and insular health authorities. 1917. 16 pp. (Reprint no. 405.)

WINSLOW (C.-E. A.). Safeguarding the health of children. (*Pub. Health [London]*, Sept., 1917: 240-242.)

Read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Health Officers' Assn., Toronto, May, 1917.

#### MILK SUPPLY

CONNECTICUT. AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE. Studies from the survey on the cost of market milk production, by Karl B. Musser and others. Jy., 1917. 19 pp. tables. (Extension Service bul. no. 7.)

FROST (W. D.). Counting the living bacteria in milk—A practical test. (*Jour. of Bacteriology*, Sept., 1917: 567-583, chart. tables.)

MACNUTT (J. S.). The modern milk problem in sanitation, economics, and agriculture. 1917. 258 pp., plates.

Contents: Why there is a milk problem; The case to-day; The sanitary factors; The economic factors; How to solve the problem.

MASSACHUSETTS. AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION. The cost of distributing milk in six cities and towns in Massachusetts, by Alexander E. Cance and Richard H. Ferguson. May, 1917. 54 pp., plates. tables. (Bul. no. 173.)

From actual investigation it is shown that the average cost was 2.64 cents per quart in 1914 and 1915. An increase of at least 25 per cent would have to be made now owing to greater cost of labor and of supplies.

MILK COMMITTEE OF THE ORANGES (N. J.). Report from Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1916. [1917.] 31 pp. diagr., tables.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Sections of sanitary code and regulations governing the production, transportation, pasteurization, and sale of milk, skimmed milk, cream, condensed or concentrated milk, condensed skimmed milk, and modified milk. 1917. 44 pp.

NEW YORK STATE. JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON DAIRY PRODUCTS, LIVE

STOCK AND POULTRY. Preliminary report of the [so-called Wick's] Committee, transmitted to the legislature Feb. 15, 1917. 1917. 892 pp., plates.

Contains a great deal of valuable information as to the Milk Supply of New York City, particularly with reference to sanitary conditions. There are also reports of public accountants concerning costs of operating, manufacturing and delivery of the chief distributing companies.

RUEHLE (G. L. A.) and others. The milking machine as a factor in the production of sanitary milk. (*Am. Jour. of Pub. Health*, Oct., 1917: 840-846, tables.)

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Safe milk; an important food problem, by Ernest A. Sweet. 1917. 24 pp. (Supplement no. 31.)

#### Public Service

See also Civil Service.

MILWAUKEE. BOARD OF CITY SERVICE COMMISSIONERS. Classification and standardization of personal service and summary distribution and comparative salaries of offices and positions in the Milwaukee city government, with constructive recommendations and regulations for positive employment administration. Prepared . . . by J. L. Jacobs & Company, Chicago. 1917. 336 pp.

#### Public Utilities

See also Municipal Ownership.

KING (C. L.). Electric rates and their tendencies. (*Utilities Mag.*, Oct., 1917: 7-13, tables.)

LITTLE (A. S. B.). Should gas standards be revised to meet war conditions? (*Utilities Mag.*, Nov., 1917: 3-9.)

ROTH (LOUIS). Regulation of statutory [railroad, gas, electric] rates in New York. (*Utilities Mag.*, Oct., 1917: 3-7.)

\_\_\_\_\_. Effect of regulation on contract obligations. (*Utilities Mag.*, Nov., 1917: 9-13.)

#### Purchasing

KEENE (A. M.). Purchasing department forms used by a public service corporation—III, IV. (*Purchasing Agent*, Sept., Oct., 1917: 77-81, 108-111, forms.)

#### Recreation

See also Housing.

CURTIS (H. S.). The play movement and its significance. 1917. 346 pp., plates.

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. General statistics of cities: 1916, including statistics of parks, playgrounds, museums and art galleries, zoological collections, music and entertainments, swimming pools and bathing beaches, and other features of the recreation service. 1917. 88 pp.

#### Refuse and Garbage Disposal

BALDENSPERGER (H. L.). Dollars in city dumps. The making of money and men through the Chicago salvage system. (*Am. City*, Oct., 1917: 305-308, illus.)

BONNET (FREDERIC, JR.). How Worcester is helping to conserve the national food supply. Valuable data from one of the largest and oldest municipal piggeries in the United States. (Am. City, Nov., 1917: 395-400. illus. table.)

HALLOCK (J. C.). Refuse collection and disposal. (N. J. Municipalities, Nov., 1917: 16-21.)

HERING (RUDOLPH). Contract plans and specifications for obtaining refuse incineration works on the most economical basis. (Mun. Eng., Nov., 1917: 201-203.)

SPRINGFIELD (MASS.) BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH. Garbage disposal. 1917. 69 pp., typewritten.

Contents: Summary; Classes of municipal waste; Requirements of garbage disposal plant for Springfield; Garbage disposal in Springfield in past years; Garbage disposal methods in common use; Dumping, sanitary fills, burial, plowing; Incineration; Reduction; Feeding; Conclusion; Recommendations.

#### Roads

See also Pavements.

BREED (H. E.). Best practice in concrete road construction [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 94-144.)

BROWN (C. C.). Maintenance and repair of improved roads. (Mun. Jour., Nov. 15, 1917: 485-486.)

UNITED STATES. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. State highway mileage and expenditures for the calendar year 1916. 1917. 8 pp. (Circular no. 74.)

#### Schools

See also Education, Municipal Government, Surveys, Vocational Guidance.

CHALLMAN (S. A.). The rural school plant for rural teachers and school boards, normal schools, teachers' training classes, rural extension bureaus. 1917. 256 pp. illus. plans.

NEW YORK CITY. BOARD OF EDUCATION. Some effects of the duplicate schools. By Joseph S. Taylor, District Supt. of Schools. 1917. 24 pp. tables.

—. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. DIVISION OF REFERENCE AND RESEARCH. The school assembly. 1917. 107 pp. (Pub. no. 15.)

OAKLAND, CAL. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. The school custodian, his duties and responsibilities; a series of lectures edited by Wilford E. Talbert. June, 1917. 44 pp. illus. (Bd. of Educ. Bul. no. 8.)

THEISEN (W. W.). The city superintendent and the board of education. 1917. 137 pp.

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. Bibliography of school lunches, compiled by Lucy Condell. 1917. 25 pp.

—. Current practice in city school administration, by W. S. Deffen-

baugh. 1917. 98 pp. tables. (Bul., 1917, no. 8.)

Furnishes data concerning school-board organization, administration, and supervision in cities of more than 25,000 population.

—. Higher technical education in foreign countries, standards and scope, prepared by A. T. Smith, and W. S. Jesien. 1917. 121 pp., plates. (Bul., 1917, no. 11.)

—. School extension statistics, by Clarence Arthur Perry. 1917. 30 pp. tables. (Bul., 1917, no. 30.)

#### Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

See also Water Works.

ABBOTT (H. R.). Sewer construction in Chicago. (Mun. Jour., Oct. 11, 1917: 350-354. illus.)

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION. Report of Committee on Sewerage and Sewage Disposal [suggesting definitions for the terms used in sewerage and sewage disposal practice, and recommending that in reports, contracts, and agreements, engineers and health officers use these terms with the meanings designated by the Committee]. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 847-853.)

ANON. Sewerage system for a small town. Screen, septic tank, coke filter, settling tank and chlorine treatment—pumping from a low district—mixing and distributing concrete at plant—trench excavation by machinery. (Mun. Jour., Nov. 29, 1917: 529-531. illus.)

BROWN (REGINALD). Sewage and its precipitation; further experiments. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Eng., Oct. 26, 1917: 358-361. tables.)

KERSHAW (S. B. DE B.). Sewage purification and disposal. 1917. 340 pp. illus. (Cambridge Pub. Health ser.)

WHITTEMORE (I. W.). Sewer drop manholes. (Mun. Engs. Jour., Sept., 1917: 261-276, plates.)

#### Smoke Abatement

ILONERGAN (J. M.). Smoke—its cause, effect and remedy. (Mun. Engs. Jour., Oct., 1917. Paper no. 113.)

SMOKE ABATEMENT ACTIVITIES IN AMERICAN CITIES. 1. New York, by Joseph M. Lonergan. 2. Pittsburgh, by J. W. Henderson. 3. Cincinnati, by Walter M. Squires. (Heating and Ventilating Mag., Oct., 1917: 27-33. illus.)

#### State Government and Administration

See also Elections, Home Rule, Statutes.

CALIFORNIA. LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL BUREAU. Constitution of the State of California and summary of amendments. 1917. 376 pp.

Appended are the Magna Charts, Declaration of Rights, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation and Constitution of the U. S.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY. BUREAU OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION. A new constitution for Indiana: a club study outline and

suggestions for study. June, 1917. 11 pp. (Bul. of the Extension Div., ii, no. 10.)

UNITED STATES. SENATE. The state-wide initiative and referendum. An article on the present status of the state-wide initiative and referendum statutes, what they are, where they are in use, and how they work, by Judson King. 1917. 16 pp. (64. Cong. 2d sess., Sen. doc. no. 736.)

WILLIAMS (S. J.). Centralized engineering succeeds in Wisconsin. A dozen scattered state engineering bureaus were consolidated under a state engineer in 1915—Dual control of bureaus practicable. (Eng. News-Record, Oct. 25, 1917: 791-793. illus.)

#### Statutes, Compilations of

NEW YORK STATE. Statutes. Annotated consolidated laws . . . as amended to Jan. 1, 1918 . . . edited by Clarence F. Birdseye, Robert C. Cumming and Frank B. Gilbert. 2d ed., edited by Robert C. Cumming and F. B. Gilbert. v. 1. 1917.

v. 1. Constitution: Abandonment to County Judges.

UNITED STATES. Statutes. Important federal laws, compiled by John A. Lapp. 1917. 933 pp.

"The list of acts compiled in this volume indicates the extent to which the federal government has gone in controlling the affairs of men and in providing for the common welfare. The publication of these acts in a single volume will undoubtedly impress thinking citizens with the significance of modern changes in the relations existing between the states and the nation."

#### Street Cleaning

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION. Report of the Committee on Street Cleaning, Sanitary section. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 854-867. tables.)

The main object of this investigation is the relation between street cleaning and street waste and the public health.

#### Street Railways

See also Municipal Ownership.

BLAKE (H. W.) and JACKSON (WALTER). Electric railway transportation. 1917. 487 pp. diagrs.

Contents: Organization and definitions; Adjustment of service to traffic; Accelerating traffic movement along the line; Accelerating traffic movement on the car; Car types in relation to traffic; City time-tables—preliminaries; Interurban schedules and dispatching; Fares; Fare collection practices and devices; Public relations; Promotion of passenger traffic; Traffic signs for cars, station and road—information for the public; Competition; Freight and express business; Selection and training of men; Wages and wage agreements; Welfare work; Discipline of trainmen; Forms of extra pay.

CITIZENS' RESEARCH LEAGUE OF WINNIPEG. The city's problem of street transportation (preliminary report). [1917.] 7 pp. (Bul. no. 5.)

Mr. R. P. Farley, 47 Aikens Bldg., Winnipeg, is secretary of the League.

JACKSON (D. C.) and MCGRATH (D. J.).

Street railway fares; their relation to length of haul and cost of service. Report of investigation carried on in the research division of the electrical engineering department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1917. 169 pp. diagrs. (Research Div. Bul. no. 14.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS. Street railway employment in the United States. 1917. 1131 pp. tables. (Bul. no. 204.)

—. SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE RAILWAY CONDITIONS [IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA]. (Senate.) Street railway conditions in the District of Columbia. 1917. 57 pp. (65. Cong. 1. sess., Sen. rept. no. 176.)

All members of the committee seem to be convinced that the most practicable solution of the labor problem is to be found in government ownership.

#### Surveys

See also Periodical Publications.

DECKER (D. O.) and HARRISON (S. M.). City and county administration in Springfield, Illinois. A survey by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. 1917. 158 pp. illus. (Part 9, Springfield Survey.)

LAWRENCE SOCIAL SURVEY COMMITTEE, Lawrence, Kan. Lawrence social survey. Report of F. W. Blackman, Director and E. W. Burgess, Field Surveyor. 1917. 122 pp.

SMITH (H. L.). A survey of a public school system. 1917. 304 pp. diagrs. (Columbia Univ. Contrbs. to Educ., Teachers' Coll. Ser.)

VAN SICKLE (J. H.). Educational survey of the public schools of Brookline, Mass. 1917. 436 pp. tables. diagrs. Published by the School Committee.

#### Taxation and Finance

See also Charities.

ANON. Taxation and revenue systems of state and local governments. Arkansas. (Modern City, Nov., 1917: 17-20.)

The third in a series of articles. Alabama was discussed in the Sept. issue and Arizona in Oct.

IDAHO STATE TAX ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the first annual conference, Dec. 27-28, 1915. [1917.] 125 pp.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE. Comparative summary statements of the expenses of various departments of the City of New York for the years 1914, 1915 and 1916; prepared from the expense ledger reports transmitted by said departments. [By the] Bureau of Municipal Investigation and Statistics. William A. Prendergast, Comptroller. Aug., 1917. (Supplement, City Record, Sept. 1, 1917. 57 pp.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. Financial statistics of cities having a population of over 30,000, 1916. 1917. 375 pp. diagrs.

—. Financial statistics of states, 1916, 1917. 127 pp. tables.

Presents statistics of (1) the total and per capita receipts of states from revenues, and from the principal classes thereof; (2) the total and per capita payments of states for expenses, interest and outlays, and for each of the principal classes of expenses and outlays; (3) the total value of state properties; (4) the total and per capita indebtedness of states; and (5) the total and per capita assessed valuation of property subject to taxation.

#### Budget System

CHICAGO. SANITARY DISTRICT. Report on a definite budget plan for the Sanitary District of Chicago, prepared at the request of the Board of Trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago, by J. L. Jacobs & Company. 1917. 36 pp. tables.

—. Budgetary codes of the Sanitary District of Chicago, prepared by J. L. Jacobs & Company. 1917. 83 pp.

I. Departmental code.

II. Classification of budgetary expenditure accounts.

III. Alphabetical finding list for commodities, services and other objects of expenditure.

IV. Classification of budgetary revenue accounts.

COLLINS (C. W.). The national budget system. 1917. 151 pp.

Contents: Introduction; Preparation of the budget; Ratification of the budget; Execution, audit and control of the budget; Features of the budget system; Preparation of financial measures in the United States; Ratification of financial measures by Congress; Spending, audit and control in the United States; Criticisms of the American system; The budget system for the United States; Constitutional and legal questions involved; Recent developments toward a national budget system.

DARBY (W. R.). New Jersey's municipal budget act. (N. J. Municipalities, Oct., 1917: 5, 24-28.)

The author is State Commissioner of Municipal Accounts.

#### Tenement Houses

ABBOTT (W. H.). Conditions leading up to the tenement law. Early history of the multi-family house construction—some of the abuses which were later corrected. (Record and Guide, Sept. 29, 1917: 391. illus.)

#### Traffic

See also Street Railways.

ANON. Traffic congestion in cities. Extensive proposals at Manchester [England]. (Mun. Jour. [London], Aug. 31, 1917: 837-838.)

COCKERLYNE (E. W.). The effect of modern traffic upon urban roads and tramway tracks. [Parts 1-2.] (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Eng., Sept. 28, Oct. 5, 1917: 275-276; 297-298.)

GOODSELL (D. B.). Traffic census; its application to the design of roadways, selection of pavements and traffic regulations [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 261-270.)

MANCHESTER (ENG.). TRAFFIC CONGESTION SPECIAL COMMITTEE. Traffic

congestion [report]. August 8, 1917. 39 pp., maps, diagrs.

#### Ventilation

WINSLOW (C.-E. A.). The effect of atmospheric conditions upon fatigue and efficiency. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 827-834. tables.)

#### Vital Statistics

GUILFOY (W. H.). Vital statistics and co-operation with statistical officers. (Albany Med. Annals, Sept., 1917: 418-425.)

Printed also as New York City, Department of Health. Reprint series no. 61.

SOBEL (JACOB). Mortality among negro babies in New York City. (Modern City, Oct., 1917: 15-16, 38, 41, 43, 47.)

#### Vocational Guidance and Education

ANON. The development of vocational schools. (Am. Architect, Sept. 19, 1917: 209-210.)

The September issue of The American Architect is devoted to the various and complex questions of design, plan and equipment of vocational high schools.

—. Vocational education and employment of the handicapped, with special reference to crippled soldiers. [An annotated list of references.] (Monthly Rev. of the U. S. Bur. of Labor Stat., Sept., 1917: 599-624.)

BREWER (J. M.) and KELLY (Roy W.). A selected critical bibliography of vocational guidance. 1917. 76 pp. (Harvard Buls. in Educ.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. Demand for vocational education in the countries at war, by Anna T. Smith. 1917. 16 pp. (Bul., 1917, no. 36.)

#### Water Distribution

ANON. The cost of laying water mains. Detailed figures of costs in Saginaw and Chicago—Pipe, lead and other materials—Labor, cartage and other costs. (Mun. Jour., Oct. 4, 1917: 328-330. tables.)

KILLAM (S. E.). Meters cut waste in metropolitan water district [Boston]. (Eng. News-Record, Sept. 20, 1917: 541-542, table.)

STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS. Water rates in New York State cities. Revised to Sept. 1, 1917. 1917. 37 pp., typewritten. (Rept. no. 19.)

#### Water Purification

See also Baths.

JOHNSON (G. A.). Rapid sand filtration [with discussion]. (Jour. N. E. Water Works Assn., Sept., 1917: 390-473.)

SAVAGE (W. G.). The emergency purification of drinking water supplies. Part 4. (Pub. Health, Sept., 1917: 235-239.)

**Water Supply**

O'SHAUGHNESSY (M. M.). The Hetch Hetchy water supply project [with discussion]. (Trans., Commonwealth Club of Cal., Oct., 1917: 344-386.)

**CATSKILL AQUEDUCT**

CATSKILL AQUEDUCT CELEBRATION: a souvenir edition of the Municipal Engineers Journal, Oct., 1917. 182 pp. illus.

Contents: New York's Catskill Mountain water supply. A general description of the dams, tunnels, and methods of construction, pp. 15-75; Statistical items of interest, pp. 77-83; Distribution of Catskill water in the city, pp. 91-100; Commissioners and engineers: portraits and biographical sketches, pp. 102-162; Catskill Aqueduct Association: list of members, pp. 163-172; Contracts and contractors, pp. 173-182.

Price of souvenir edition, 50 cents; obtainable from Geo. A. Taber, Secretary, 13 Park Row.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Water supply and public health. A brief sketch specially prepared for the Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee, by Charles Bolduan, Director, Bureau of Public Health Education. 1917. 8 pp., maps, charts.

—. MAYOR'S CATSKILL AQUEDUCT CELEBRATION COMMITTEE. The Catskill Aqueduct and earlier water supplies of the City of New York, with elementary chapters on the source and uses of water and the building of aqueducts, and an outline for an allegorical pageant. 1917. 132 pp. illus.

Contents: Introduction; The uses and source of water; Aqueducts and why they are built; Manhattan's primitive water supply; Early pipe line projects; The Croton aqueduct; Other borough water supplies; The Catskill Aqueduct; A pageant of water; The Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee.

—. A brief sketch of the municipal water supply system of the City of

New York. Specially prepared for the Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee by the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, William Williams, Commissioner. 1917. 27 pp., plates.

Secretary of the Committee, Edward Hagaman Hall, 154 Nassau St.

**Water Works**

BARKER (C. L.). A metropolitan water and sewerage project for six Canadian municipalities. (Am. City, Nov., 1917: 444-448. map.)

LAIDLAW (ROBERT). A brief description of the new water works [at Cincinnati]. 1917. 20 pp.

The author: general superintendent of the plant.

LEDOUX (J. W.). Purposes should govern water-works valuations. Original cost, reproduction cost less depreciation and market value are all thought to have their applications. (Eng. News-Record, Oct. 4, 1917: 633-636. tables.)

**Widows' Pensions**

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK. Widows' pension legislation. May, 1917. 125 pp. (Mun. Research no. 85.)

Chapter 5, "A year of widows' pensions in New York State," briefly reviews the results accomplished by the Child Welfare Board of New York City.

**Zoning**

CHENEY (C. H.). Procedure for zoning or districting of cities. 1917. (Bul. no. 2, Calif. Conf. on City Planning.)

Copies may be obtained from the office of the Conference, Crocker Bldg., San Francisco. Price 50 cents.

## NOTES AND EVENTS

### I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

**Cincinnati Adopts a Home Rule Charter.**<sup>1</sup>—Cincinnati adopted a home rule charter at the general election Tuesday, November 6. By doing so, it is the last big city in the state to take advantage of the home rule amendment provision of the state constitution whereby cities may adopt special charters to suit their local needs.

Inasmuch as Cincinnati had defeated the proposed charter submitted two years ago, primarily because of the many innovations involved in it, such as the non-partisan ballot, and small council provisions, the charter commission this year did not draw up a complete new charter but simply provided for such amendments as it thought the citizens wanted; and in other respects adopted the general laws of Ohio. The Ohio municipal code, together with a few amendments, is therefore the substance of the new home rule charter for Cincinnati. Due to the fact that any new and untried provisions would be certain to invite a great deal of opposition, the commission endeavored to frame one that would satisfy the views of most of the citizens; afterward, if new propositions seemed likely to meet with the approval of the electorate, these could be voted on at special elections. The overwhelming success of the charter provision at the polls shows that the commission, in this regard, had done a wise thing.

One of the significant amendments was the creation of a city planning commission with very extensive powers. Nearly three and one-half pages out of a total of fourteen, are devoted to details in respect to this commission. Another amendment changed the term of mayor, president of council, councilmen, and auditor to four years instead of two.

<sup>1</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 720.

One of the few additional offices created was that of street railway commissioner. If the supreme court should hold the rapid transit law unconstitutional, and many are frank to say that there is great danger of this, the director will be paid his \$7,500 a year but will have nothing to do.

The treasurer and city solicitor are to be appointed by the mayor instead of being elected as heretofore. To this extent the short ballot feature is introduced in the charter.

Considerable discussion was involved in the question as to the method of appointment of the Southern railroad trustees. At present these are appointed by the superior court and many felt that a judicial body should not have the power of appointment for remunerative offices. However, fearing that a change in the method of appointment of the Southern railroad trustees might invite very formidable opposition, the commission allowed this question to remain as it is at present. The method of electing twenty-six councilmen by wards and six at large, was maintained, as it is under the Ohio municipal code.



**Commission Government Ratified in Portland, Oregon.**<sup>2</sup>—Two charters presented to the voters of Portland under the initiative process at the election of June 4, 1917, were voted down by decisive majorities. Both were plans for a return to the mayor and council government very similar to the type abandoned when the commission form was adopted in 1913. Neither charter contained new nor progressive features. Both provided for a poorly paid ward council to be chosen from eleven districts, a mayor and an elective auditor. The Shepherd or "long"

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 624.

charter provided in addition for the election of the city attorney, municipal judge and treasurer. It also gave the mayor the veto, while the other gave the mayor only administrative power. Both charters replaced the preferential voting scheme with the non-partisan primary, double-election procedure. The Shepherd charter, a complete revision of the present city governing document, appeared in a 105-page pamphlet. It made many minor changes of a non-contentious nature in administrative provisions. The "short" charter was merely a group of amendments to the present charter, replacing the commission-council with elected and appointed executives and a ward council.

The protest against the present city government began two years ago when a group of citizens, organized as the North Portland commercial club, disagreed with the city commission on the engineering features of a trunk sewer project in their district. Under the leadership of George Shepherd, a councilman and prominent political figure in the old régime, a charter was submitted to the city commission for reference to the people at the general election in 1915. The request was denied. At this year's election the longer charter was practically the same document as that of 1915, but was brought before the people by initiative petition.

Another group representing the disaffected elements of one kind or another, including residents of a few outlying districts who considered themselves unfairly discriminated against under a commission-council elected at large, organized a charter revision league and after trying in vain to unite forces with the Shepherd-Killingsworth group drew up another document identical in the general form proposed except as mentioned above, calculated to have a superior popular appeal because of its brevity. Despite violent disagreements during the early campaign the two groups finally urged the voters to ratify both plans in order that confusion in choosing between them might not lead to the separation of voting strength.

During the whole campaign no new

arguments were produced. The anti-commission forces relied on familiar criticisms: the increasing tax rate and saving of salaries under the council form, the danger of uniting the spending and appropriating functions in one body, and the need of a representative council. Commission government was anathematized by such catch phrases as "autocratic, bureaucratic, imperialistic, despotic, un-American," etc.

The forces for commission government exerted themselves only through regular channels. The leading newspapers went on record as opposed to both schemes and a series of illuminating articles appeared in some of their columns showing the fallacy of assuming extravagance from an increase in tax rate. Civic organizations such as the chamber of commerce, city club and professional and business men's luncheon clubs recorded themselves as opposed to the change.

Both charters were defeated by a vote of more than two to one. During the whole campaign the charter issue received less attention than three or four other initiative measures, a fact which resulted in a smaller number of total votes than some much less important issues. The election seemed to indicate that the people of Portland have no desire to return to the old councilmanic form. It is perhaps a wholesome endorsement of the present scheme to have a majority of over 17,000 on its side as against the few hundred by which it was adopted four years ago.

R. D. LEIGH.



**The City-Manager Plan in Clarksburg, West Virginia.**—An aggressive campaign for commission government and a Greater Clarksburg was won by a majority of over 2,000—considerably more than the most sanguine hopes of its supporters. In the words of an active worker:

"This puts Clarksburg on the map in the 35,000 population class. The Rotary club, after a year's work, in one day transformed Clarksburg from the less than 10,000 town class into a city of the above population—a revolution which the people

of Clarksburg have been wanting and waiting for for the last twenty years, but until Rotary was organized a little over a year ago, had no man, or set of men or organization that could take hold of the situation and put it through.

"The outside world thinks of these mountain towns as being in the back woods, but Clarksburg is the heart of West Virginia's greatest industries, coal, oil and gas, which we have seen drained from us without the great exploiting companies returning anything in proportion to the towns they are so draining. We hope to see them make such return under the new charter.

"Clarksburg is one of the oldest towns in West Virginia—not a boom town, though the developments of the last twenty years have brought new life to her. Nor does the new charter take in a lot of vacant territory. It brings into Clarksburg four suburban municipalities, all contiguous, and some intervening sections; rather solidly built up, as the contour of the country permits, making a total area of about six square miles. Nor does it take in 'the whole country' as is done in some annexations. Four of the big plants, and surrounding settlements, *viz.*, Philips tin plate plant, McNicoll pottery, Pittsburgh plate glass plant and Owens bottle company, each round the million mark, are still on the outside, and should be annexed soon."

Robert R. Wilson, formerly a member of the city club of Cincinnati and the first president of the Rotary club of Clarksburg, was in charge of the campaign.

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**Manager Charter for Auburn, Maine.**—The voters of Auburn, Maine, on September 10, 1917, by a majority of 413 out of a total vote of 1,489, adopted a "manager" charter. Auburn is the farthest eastern city, the first New England city, and the second New England municipality (the town of Norwood, Mass., is the first) to adopt the "manager" form of government.

Compared with the average city under the mayor-council system, Auburn had

been fairly well governed. For ten years, however, there had been a growing dissatisfaction among the leading citizens with the inability of the government to produce results in terms of better services. In 1909, and again in 1913, as a result of the desire for a simpler and more efficient government, a committee of citizens secured from the state legislature special acts submitting to the voters of Auburn a commission charter. The charter, in both instances, was decisively defeated. The defeat in each case was due in part to the unwillingness of the "foreign" ward to give up ward representation and submit to a government of five commissioners representing the native New Englanders of the other four wards, and in part to the apathy of the citizens in general.

The movement for charter reform, however, was only delayed by the two defeats. The Auburn board of trade, in 1915, took up the movement, when, in its November meeting, "The City-Manager Form" was the subject of the address and discussion of the evening. By January, 1917, charter reform had won so many converts among the members of the board of trade that a committee of nine was appointed to draw up a charter. The committee was made up of the leading business and professional men of Auburn. Democrats, old line Republicans and progressive Republicans were represented.

The committee had but five weeks to complete its work, for city charters in Maine are granted by special acts of the legislature, and the time limit set by the 1917 session for the introduction of special acts was February 9. The committee retained Professor Orren C. Hormell, professor of government and director of the bureau of municipal research at Bowdoin College, to prepare a tentative draft. The draft prepared by him followed the main lines of the typical "manager" charters. However, in several points it was modified to meet the local conditions in Auburn. For example, ward representation was retained, for without it the charter would have been doomed to certain defeat.

**The Abandonment of Commission Government in Lynn, Massachusetts.**—The Lynn voters found that as commission government was applied there it was not a success. As a correspondent wrote: "Had there been a spirit of unity in the governing board there would have been no disposition by the electorate to have changed. In Lynn each commissioner was elected as a specific department head, and the legislative feature was entirely forgotten. As a result, no matter how one of the commissioners conducted his department the rest dared not risk criticising, for fear their own toes might be trodden on. The consequence was we had five little mayors; each commissioner went ahead with his own plans, and taxes rose to \$23 per thousand, notwithstanding \$15,000,000 increase in valuation, and over \$1,000,000 increase in the bonded debt. In my opinion, had the five commissioners collectively chosen the various subordinates there would have been a freedom to criticise, and the five could have secured far better results. As it was one commissioner was at the head of the fire and police departments, one handled the finance, one streets, one water and one public property, and it isn't natural for men to allow much criticism without retaliating. If citizens felt aggrieved at some action; or lack of action, by one of the commissioners and took complaint to the others they were informed that the matter was outside their jurisdiction—that they could not interfere with another commissioner's department.

"The personnel of our government for the seven years Lynn was under commission was excellent. The human equation prevented better results, for men are naturally tenacious of their prerogatives. The man chosen mayor divided his responsibility with his four colleagues, yet stood to receive the greater public criticism, for it is natural to find fault with the ostensible head of the government.

"In the new government of mayor and eleven councillors the mayor is given almost as much power as a city manager, and a firm man will cut many dollars from the tax rate, assume responsibilities which

have been divided heretofore, correct abuses which have been tolerated and show to the citizens that the instrument of government is a factor for good."

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**Abandonment of Commission Government in Appleton, Wisconsin.**—Appleton, Wisconsin, has voted to abandon the commission form of government. The movement to this end was the result of a change in the administration. The new mayor was elected last April and one of his first acts was to reorganize the police department in an effort to secure a full enforcement of the law, particularly the liquor laws. He brought in a chief of police from outside the city, which stirred up a great furore, particularly on the part of the liquor interests, the petition for revocation being filed by them. The majority in its favor was 582 votes.

A correspondent under date of November 2 writes:

"To most of the people from whom I have received information on this subject this outcome came as a surprise. I am advised from all sources that the campaign was one of the most bitter ones ever held in this state, many issues being introduced to confuse the main purpose of the election. Personalities were indulged in to a shocking degree; outside speakers were brought in on both sides; and the pre-election campaigning was very bitter. As near as I can find out the final election hinged more upon the wet and dry issue than upon the plan, which, of course, was perfectly natural, the petition for the recall arising as it did out of the appointment of a new chief of police and the institution of a strict enforcement of the liquor laws.

"This is the first city to abandon the commission form of government in this state, although a number of cities have voted against adopting the plan."

The vote becomes effective at the expiration of the present fiscal year, April, 1918.

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**Marquette, Michigan.**—Commission government was introduced in Marquette in the fall of 1913 and at the election held

four years later (November, 1917) every one of the commission was re-elected, showing a marked degree of satisfaction with the new system of government. The commission has worked so well together that it has not been necessary so far for the mayor to cast a tie vote on any question.

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Norfolk has adopted a modern city-manager charter based on the model city charter of the National Municipal League. It received a vote of three to one at the special election on November 20.<sup>1</sup>

♦

**Progress of Preferential Voting.**—Santa Monica, which should have been included in our list of January, 1917,<sup>2</sup> should be added, and also Newark and Gloucester.

Newark is interesting not only as the largest city of New Jersey but also as voting to adopt commission government, including the preferential ballot, after having had a chance to observe the working of these two institutions in thirty-two other New Jersey cities.

Gloucester is interesting because it is one of the instances like that of Colorado Springs, in which the preferential ballot was introduced by direct popular vote into a commission-governed city which had not previously had it in force. Both in Gloucester and Newark the vote was far from close. In Newark the vote was 19,069 to 6,053 and in Gloucester 1,304 to 528. At the first election in Newark under the new system there were eighty candidates and five men to be elected.

An item in the November issue (page 728) needs a word of comment. A Houston correspondent makes the astonishing statement that the aim of the preferential ballot is that "of forcing a majority election on the first choice"; it misleadingly adds, "It has never been successful in this"; and also that Pastoriza asked his constituents to cast "single-shot" votes, as if that were in some way

<sup>1</sup> See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. vi, p. 723.

<sup>2</sup> See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. vi, p. 107.

inconsistent with the spirit of the preferential ballot, in the introduction of which he had been a leader.

If your correspondent looked into the matter further, he would find that the aim of the preferential ballot in Houston is not what he supposes; its aim is to protect the majority against the dangers of a split ticket, and to secure a majority election on some terms either on "first choice" or "second choice," or all choices combined, if there is any candidate in nomination who can command that degree of support. Frequently there is no such candidate, and there is no possibility of a majority election on any terms; no system of voting can, in any but an artificial sense, make a majority support where none exists. All it can do is to discover if such support exists—and if so, who has it—if not, who comes nearest to having it in a full and free expression of preference. This it has done in Houston. It may be asserted accordingly that the preferential ballot has always been successful in doing what it is planned to do, in Houston as elsewhere.

Mr. Pastoriza might very appropriately ask (and did ask) his supporters to cast "single-shot" votes for him in the preferential system. If for special local reasons, as in his case, one candidate seems to his supporters incomparably superior to all the others (and if he is to be defeated there is little choice between his leading opponents), it is entirely correct and in harmony with the purpose of the preferential system for the supporters of such a candidate to concentrate on him and on him alone. Such a candidate may also appropriately, as Mr. Pastoriza did, ask for second and other choice votes from those whose first choice, for some personal or other not deep-set reason, was for someone else. Ring candidates understand this perfectly well, but it is a procedure which will of course not win unless the candidate is actually or more nearly than any of the rest, the bona fide majority candidate. This is less likely to be true of what is ordinarily called a ring candidate than of a man whose place in public esteem was well

earned and assured, as was the case of Mr. Pastoriza.

LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON.

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**Proportional Representation.**—In October the city of *Boulder, Colorado*, adopted a new charter drawn on the *Ash-stabula* plan—the manager plan with proportional representation—by a vote of about five to one. The first election under the new charter was held on December 11. Before that election, we are informed, mock elections were conducted to give practice in counting the ballots to those who were to serve in counting the official ballots. This note must go to the printer before news of the results of the election has been received.

*Kalamazoo, Michigan*, is to vote in February on the adoption of a new charter drawn on the manager plan with proportional representation. Those who are interested in the newer developments in charter making will do well to give this charter special attention. It is now in print and can doubtless be secured on application to the charter commission of Kalamazoo.<sup>1</sup>

C. G. HOAG.

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**Massachusetts Constitutional Amendments.**—Three amendments to the constitution were submitted by the constitutional convention: legalizing absentee voting and the sale by the city of necessities to consumers, and a third forbidding the payment of public funds to institutions not under public control. All three were adopted, only the latter receiving any serious opposition.

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**Trial of Los Angeles County Supervisors.**—The trials of two of the members of the Los Angeles county board of supervisors under charges of mismanagement of county funds, as noted in *THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* for September,<sup>2</sup> have been concluded. The result was a verdict

<sup>1</sup> An account of the second public proportional election ever held in America, the election of the Council of *Ashstabula, Ohio*, on November 6, will be found elsewhere in this issue.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi, p. 617.

of guilty in the case of Supervisor R. H. Norton, and acquittal of all of the charges against Supervisor John J. Hamilton. The third member of the board, Supervisor F. M. Woodley, has not yet been tried, nor has the county treasurer, John H. Hunt, or the auditor, Walter A. Lewis.

As a result of the verdict Supervisor Norton was automatically removed from office, the governor, in whom the right of filling the position lies, having not yet acted to appoint the successor. The counts on which Supervisor Norton was found guilty were:

Allowing unlawful claims to the extent of \$5,553.53.

The authorization of the illegal purchase of school bonds to the extent of \$600,000.

Paying claims aggregating \$1,400,000 out of general county funds, without sufficient funds in the county treasury to liquidate the claims.

Attempting to levy a three-cent tax to meet the deficit of \$239,000.

Illegally paying claims incurred for materials in the previous year.

The defendant was acquitted on the charges of illegally collecting mileage fees and of failing to supervise the official conduct of the county auditor and the county treasurer. In his charge to the jury the presiding judge made clear that no moral blame was attached to the supervisor, and the jury in their findings concurred in this attitude.

With respect to Supervisor Hamilton who, as a former member of the commission of the city of Des Moines and an author of works on city manager and other governmental problems has become well-known, it was shown that he did not participate in the illegal actions taken by Supervisor Norton, and it was further shown that the deficit which exists in the county funds was largely, if not wholly, an inheritance from a previous board. Supervisor Hamilton has resumed his duties, and in a public statement explained his intention of securing greater publicity in advance of the passage of the budget, of carrying on the budget-making through the year, and of endeavoring to secure a high-class and experienced accountant

to be placed in charge of the auditor's office.

The result of the trials to date and the removal of one of the members of the board of supervisors has undoubtedly acted to bring home to the public officials in a new light their responsibility for the management of the public funds. It has frequently seemed to be the understanding of officials that all that was required of them was honesty and good intentions, but by showing that in addition to these qualities attention to the actual conditions and a business-like conduct of the public office was requisite, the matter has undoubtedly operated to the great benefit of not only Los Angeles county but to all governmental agencies in California.

SEWARD C. SIMONS.<sup>1</sup>

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**Los Angeles' Efficiency Bureau.**—On December 4, the city council, by unanimous vote of those members present (seven out of nine) passed an ordinance repealing those which established the efficiency department, of which Dr. Jesse D. Burks is director.

That the deal was planned when Mr. Burks was absent upon an eastern trip and when two staunch friends of efficiency (Messrs. Conwell and Criswell) were absent from the council; that furthermore the regular rule requiring ordinances to wait over one week after introduction was suspended, only add proof to the evident fact that the move is actuated not by economy but by antagonism to the very principle for which the efficiency commission stands.

The municipal league feels that the situation is one of real crisis to Los Angeles. The mayor has as yet not indicated whether he will veto the ordinance or permit it to become a law. If it is passed over his veto, there will be unquestionably a referendum against its going into effect, in regard to the outcome of which I feel no doubt.

SEWARD C. SIMONS.

<sup>1</sup>Secretary, the municipal league of Los Angeles.

**Police Situation in New Orleans.**—Three important events have materially affected the police situation in New Orleans this year. First, the resignation of Harold W. Newman, commissioner of public safety, June 19. Second, the murder of James W. Reynolds, police superintendent, August 2. Third, the closing of the "restricted district" for immoral houses, in compliance with the request of the U. S. government through the secretary of the navy, November 13.

Commissioner Newman's resignation was the direct outcome of efforts he had made to enforce the Sunday law, hitherto honored by what the administration organ neatly phrased "unobtrusive non-observance." One of the "shirt-front" commissioners who went into office under the commission-government law in 1912, and re-elected in 1916, he was sensitive enough to be goaded into aggressive action under the demands of the citizens' league, an organization of reformers, clergymen, and women led by William M. Railey and Miss Jean Gordon, after the revelations of the *New Orleans American*. This newspaper, owned by a race-track gambler who had some unsatisfactory dealings with the city hall politicians, showed up certain weak points in the administration in facts afterward proved in a libel suit against the paper which was decided in its favor. In a campaign of vigorous law enforcement, scores of violators of the state Sunday law were arrested in May and June, and the hoary pretense that "the law couldn't be enforced in New Orleans" was disproved. It was enforced so well that the brewers protested against the use of non-uniformed police; and when the mayor upheld them, Newman resigned. Sam Stone, Jr., was elected in his place. The law continues to be enforced as far as appearances go, but one hears that drinks may be obtained in hotels, clubs, and at the back doors of saloons any Sunday.

Superintendent Reynolds was murdered by a gigantic policeman, Terence Mullen, who had been suspended from the force because mentally unbalanced. Though

three other men were in the superintendent's office when Mullen attacked him, two of them police officers, and one specially assigned to watch the crazy man and protect the superintendent, Mullen escaped from the building after killing the chief, and was not arrested till he reached the street. Meantime in the fusillade of wild shots, his cousin, Garry Mullen, was killed while hurrying to the defense of the superintendent. The inquiry held by the mayor and the police board failed to fix responsibility for either fatality. Men implicated by their own confession and the testimony of others were allowed to retire from active duty or to resign, and later were given good positions, in the employ of the municipal port commission or in that of private business enterprises. Thomas J. Mooney, superintendent of the Illinois Central railroad, sought the position of police superintendent, and was appointed. He has introduced many "business efficiency" methods, cleaned up the stations, and personally made raids when he found his men derelict. In several cases, friction between the new chief and the politicians has been reported, and men punished have been reinstated. The general impression is that Mr. Mooney is trying to make a good record under political handicaps; he hopes to be the next mayor.

But the third event, the closing of the legalized district for prostitution, under federal pressure, complicates the situation. If the new ordinance is rigidly enforced, as the mayor has declared it shall be, political forces hitherto powerful will receive a staggering blow; if it is not, the federal government will, it is predicted, demand a reckoning. Thus the police are between the devil of vice-controlled politics and the deep blue of the star-spangled banner.

The citizens' league has taken an active part in bringing to the attention of the federal authorities the conditions hitherto existing here, with regard to the menace of venereal temptations to which the soldiers and sailors stationed here were exposed. Its president (whose son, Hilton H. Railey, has done conspicuous work

along the same line in Philadelphia, New York, and on the Pacific coast since he left New Orleans on the demise of the *New Orleans American*) has kept in close touch with the Fosdick commission, and has frequently defied the city authorities to disprove the facts gathered by the league in regard to flagrant law violations.



**Denver Smashes Coal Famine.**—Denver is the first American municipality to enter the coal business as a producing wholesaler. When it became apparent during the summer months that wartime prices could be expected on coal this winter Mayor Robert W. Speer, with the broad vision that has characterized his several terms as chief executive of Denver, contracted with owners of three coal mines in the lignite fields of Colorado to take their output and sell to Denver's citizens of moderate means. In effect Denver's coal venture is municipal ownership without the outlay of any money for permanent investment or overhead charges. The success of the venture has been so pronounced that the practicability of municipal ownership of coal mines has been demonstrated, and the future may see the American municipality add this service to its duties. Moreover, it is saving between \$17,000 and \$18,000 a year through the coal furnished to city buildings. The saving amounts to more than \$1 a ton on every ton used by the city.

The city contracted for the output of the mines, leased three splendidly equipped and located yards and arranged for delivery by contract. The price of \$4.15 a ton to the consumer is for the coal, delivered in his bin. The very poor classes are provided for through branch offices established in the municipal lodging house and the municipal bath house. Here the consumer may buy 50 pounds for 10 cents or 100 pounds for 20 cents. If he sought similar service from the private dealer he would pay at the rate of \$10 a ton for it. There is no formality connected with the ordering of the coal further than the payment of cash for it. The consumer pays his money at city hall and receives a receipt.

Coal operators, after preliminary bluster about the danger of municipal ownership of coal mines, quickly withdrew objections when Mayor Speer told them bluntly: "If I lose my job for this, the working people of Denver are going to receive coal at a fair price this winter." Later the operators offered to sell the city 50,000 tons of coal at the same terms given by the owners of the city's mines, provided the city ran short during cold weather.

The city is receiving from its mines about 1,000 tons of coal a day. This constitutes a very important factor in the total coal consumption of the city.

Owing to the fact that the venture was experimental no attempt was made to furnish the entire domestic consumption, the wealthy class of citizens being warned to put in its coal early as the people of moderate means would have first call upon the city service.

Many other cities have made inquiries as to the Denver plan. The power to act was conferred upon the mayor by an ordinance passed by the council, and its extent is almost without limit. This was possible because of the enormous power placed in the hands of the mayor by the new Denver charter, adopted in May, 1916.<sup>1</sup>

E. C. McMECHEN.

## II. POLITICS<sup>2</sup>

**The Boston City Election.**—The operation of the non-partisan election system in Boston has always been watched with interest. The result this year is particularly significant.

Mayor Curley was "made and elected" in 1913 by Martin Lomasney, the Democratic chief of the city. In 1915 at the so-called "recall election," Lomasney threw his strength against Curley, and would have defeated him but for the clause of the charter requiring a majority of the registered voters to remove the mayor at the mid-term election. In 1915 the Republicans gerrymandered Lomasney's ward to break his power, but failed utterly. The "sociological method" of the old leader was more than able to cope with the situation, as has been seen at the elections since that time.

In the recent December election Martin Lomasney was again the deciding factor. Three candidates were in the field against the Curley machine. It was evident that Curley would win through the division of his enemies unless some coalition could be brought about, or unless a concerted effort were made to elect one man. No coalition materialized. But the concerted effort was secured by Martin Lomasney. The day before the election the metropolitan press printed in the

place generally reserved for the President of the United States Mr. Lomasney's appeal to the voters to support Andrew J. Peters. Without this he could not have been elected.

Thus the non-partisan system elected a mayor nominated and financed by the Republicans and finally carried "over the top" by the regular Boston Democratic machine. The bi-partisan political obligations of Mr. Peters make it probable that he will be a strictly non-partisan mayor.

The non-partisan system has made it easy for Mr. Lomasney to keep his cards under the table till the last minute and then insure his being a deciding factor and on the winning side.



**The Recent Election in Louisville, Kentucky.**—The Republican ticket headed by George Weissinger Smith for mayor was elected by a majority of about two thousand. The claim is made that had all the votes cast for the ticket been counted the majority would have been considerably larger. The political situa-

<sup>1</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 671.

<sup>2</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. See also article, page 36.

tion locally has been in the hands of a few men who have dominated the situation, rotated a few men for the various offices from year to year, and the charge is freely made that at various times the results were obtained for their nominees by buying registration certificates, in some instances taking them away from negroes, and in falsifying the returns. At any rate this conviction in the minds of a great many people, irrespective of party, had gained such credence that there was a revolt from the Democratic ticket, though in the registration the Democrats had the advantage in numbers.

The Republicans nominated a good ticket, had a good organization and demonstrated that they were not going to be cheated out of the election. There were evidences of fraud in the registration and the claim was made that efforts would be made to commit fraud at the election. The county judge appointed deputies to serve at the election. This was held to be illegal, and the county judge then named probation officers to serve as deputies. This action was also challenged and the court of appeals sustained the objection. Fortunately the election passed off with only a few minor difficulties.

The result evidently was a great surprise to the Democrats for it is claimed they thought they had provided for any contingency. The new mayor is a lawyer of standing at the bar, a man of fine character, firm and honest, and promises to make good the position he took before the people during the campaign. He has always been prominently identified with all the movements, political and otherwise, looking to the upbuilding of the community and is respected by citizens of all parties. His appointments to the board of safety and board of public works, the most important positions to be filled by him, have been men of character and ability. He is getting the best advice possible from those he knows to be interested in the welfare of the city before making any appointments and went into office absolutely free to do as he thinks best along these lines.

FRANK N. HARTWELL.

**Newark's First Commission Election.**—The commission election was contested by eighty candidates. Most of these entered the lists as non-partisans at large. The Republican, Democratic and Socialist party machines all entered bracketed groups of five candidates and made aggressive campaigns along traditional lines. Three of the five chosen went before the people as independents and non-partisans. Two of the five regular Democratic candidates were also elected, but they were successful more because of their good public record and personal popularity than their party affiliation. The Republican machine in this normally Republican city received an awful blow, and the Socialists, although they received an unusually heavy vote, attributable to pacifistic or pro-German sentiment, fell far below the leading candidates, receiving less than one third of the vote cast for the top man and polling less than one eighth of the vote cast, which was about 43,000. There were minor groups in brackets and preferences were expressed by civic organizations and the press for various aspirants, in most instances confined to those who were in opposition to the partisan candidates.

The successful aspirants are all present or former public officials and about fifty of the defeated candidates either hold or have held office. The winners were: Board of Works Commissioner Charles P. Gillen, independent Democrat, 17,161; Mayor Thomas L. Raymond, independent Republican, 16,832; Police Commissioner William J. Brennan, independent Democrat and Labor Unionist, 15,775; City Clerk Alexander Archibald, organization Democrat, 13,499; former Sheriff John Monahan, organization Democrat, 12,389. John A. Matthews, independent Democrat, ran Monahan closely and a recount has been granted as between them. Monahan will take his seat in the city commission and will participate in its organization next Tuesday.

While the commission will start out divided politically, there seems to be fair basis for a belief that there will be an

absence of partisanship on political lines in its deliberations and policies and that the spirit of commission government will be carried out. All the elected men have publicly declared they will have nothing to do with combination of a political or any other sort within the commission and there is a disposition on the part of the people generally to take them at their word. It is pretty certain, however, that in the beginning the appointments at the disposal of the commission will be made on a political basis with the plums going for the most part to Democrats and divided among Independents and machine followers. There are some indications of a tendency to listen to some degree to the counsel of James R. Nugent, the Democratic machine leader. He swung the party organization to the side of commission government in the election that decided upon its adoption. It is possible he may have some influence with respect to the shaping of public policies. This is not necessarily an altogether discouraging outlook as Nugent is intensely in love with his city and enthusiastic for its future development. If estranged from politics in city matters he could be a wise and useful adviser but there is apparently little prospect that he could dominate the commission.

**Woman's Suffrage and Prohibition.**—The suffrage amendment in New York state was carried by 95,000 majority. In Greater New York the vote was 334,011 in favor, and 241,316 against. Buffalo gave 4,000, and the other large cities with the exception of Rochester gave substantial majorities. In the state outside of the cities, the majority was considerably less than 2,500. New York is the twelfth state to grant women full suffrage.

Ohio defeated limited woman's suffrage by 136,000, and prohibition by about 1,000. Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland, adopted woman's suffrage under the home rule provisions of the constitution.

A prohibition amendment was adopted in New Mexico by a majority of approximately 5,000.

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The Philadelphia City Club at a special meeting resolved that the club take a more positive part than heretofore in questions affecting the government of Philadelphia, and resolved that it should actively oppose through appropriate committees legislation affecting the city whether in the legislature or in the city councils.

### III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

**Segregation Ordinances.**—In *Buchanan v. Warley*,<sup>1</sup> the supreme court of the United States has recently held to be in violation of the 14th amendment an ordinance of the city of Louisville, Kentucky, which made it unlawful for any colored person to occupy as a residence or maintain as a place of public assembly any house in a block where the greater number of houses were occupied as residences or places of public assembly by white persons or for any white person to occupy as a residence or maintain as a place of public assembly any house in a block where the greater number of houses were occupied as residences or places of public assembly by colored persons.

Hence it afforded no ground for the refusal by a colored man to perform his contract to purchase property from a white man in one of the prohibited neighborhoods. Among other things Mr. Justice Day said:

"The case presented does not deal with an attempt to prohibit the amalgamation of the races. The right which the ordinance annulled was the civil right of a white man to dispose of his property if he saw fit to do so to a person of color and of a colored person to make such disposition to a white person.

"It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be

<sup>1</sup>October Term, 1917, No. 33.

accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal constitution.

"It is said that such acquisitions by colored persons deprecate property owned in the neighborhood by white persons. But property may be acquired by undesirable white neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results.

"We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the 14th amendment of the constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law."

This decision will have the effect of upsetting a similar ordinance in Atlanta, Georgia, which was approved recently by the supreme court of Georgia in *Harden v. City of Atlanta*.<sup>1</sup>

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**Reinstatement of Employee.**—In *People ex rel Jacobs v. Coffin*,<sup>2</sup> the Illinois supreme court recently decided that the petitioner was illegally removed from the position of expert on system and organization on the staff of the Chicago civil service commission. The commission is declared to be part of the city government and not an independent corporation. In this case we find an employe, not claiming to be an officer, ordered reinstated. The court said on this point:

"An employment by a municipal corporation, in the absence of statutory or charter provisions, need not necessarily be by a formal ordinance, by-law or resolution. It may be by contract, express or implied. The allegations of the petition only warrant the conclusion that the place of expert on system and organization therein referred to is an employment or position. A position, which is in the nature of a permanent employment, may, in the absence of statutory or charter provisions, be created without the requirement of a formal ordinance, by-law

or resolution. There is no statute in this state that prescribes the manner or method of creating a position or an employment by a city. Said appropriation ordinances in each instance amounted to direct authority by the city council of the city of Chicago to the civil service commissioners to examine, certify, classify and have employed, in accordance with the civil service law, an employe for said position or employment. The acts of the city of Chicago in repeatedly passing appropriation ordinances for the salary of the place in question, and the action of the civil service commissioners in certifying appellee for appointment to said place, and his appointment and acceptance thereof in pursuance of the civil service law, show clearly a legal employment or appointment of appellee to the position aforesaid, and the allegations in the petition are ample to charge the existence of said position and the employment thereto by the city of Chicago."

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**Municipal Woman Suffrage.**—In *State ex rel Taylor v. French*<sup>3</sup> the supreme court of Ohio decided that by article XVIII of the state constitution, any municipality can frame and adopt a charter and exercise all powers of local self government, subject to the limitations expressed in the article and that a provision in the charter giving women the vote for all municipal elective officers and to be appointed or elected to and hold any municipal office provided for in such charter is valid.

The court said: "It would seem by analogy therefore that if the legislature was vested with power to confer the right to vote upon women for school directors, because that is not an office created by the constitution, and because the general assembly had been given power to provide for the maintenance of common schools, *a fortiori* the charter of a city, by which a part of the sovereign governmental power may be exercised under the sanction of the constitution itself, which conferred upon women the right to vote for municipal elective officers and to be elected to and hold a municipal office, not created by

<sup>1</sup> 193 S. E. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Docket No. 11, 264, Agenda 28, February, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> 117 N. E. 173.

the constitution, but by the charter itself, is valid."

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**Municipal Liability for Nuisance.**—Collection of garbage is a governmental duty for which a municipal corporation is not rendered liable by its employes' negligence, provided no nuisance is committed. But where a garbage dump, upon which large quantities of material were burned during a high wind, constituted a nuisance, the municipality was liable where fire communicated itself to the plaintiff's property in the case of *City of Nashville v. Mason*.<sup>1</sup>

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**Municipal Liability for Negligence.**—Where a city constructed an auditorium which it rented for various kinds of entertainment and during a celebration by a private organization, the approach to the auditorium collapsed with resulting in-

juries, the city was held liable to the same degree as if the building had been owned by a private owner, in *Chafor v. City of Long Beach (Cal.)*.<sup>2</sup>

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**Salary of Mayor.**—The city of Cambridge, Mass., adopted a new charter providing that the mayor should not be paid over \$5,000 per year. An old ordinance prescribed his salary at \$3,500. After election the city council established the salary at \$5,000. It was held in *Rockwood v. Cambridge*<sup>3</sup> that while prior ordinances were continued in force, so as to provide a working basis under the new charter, the council was authorized on the adoption of the new charter to pass an ordinance fixing the mayor's salary and hence such ordinance was not void but the mayor was entitled to collect the amount provided for with interest for the delay.

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

**American Civic Association.**—The thirteenth annual convention held at St. Louis, October 22-24, marked a departure from the regular practice of that organization of meeting at its headquarters city of Washington. Even had it desired to meet there it would hardly have been possible because of the war time condition, but the invitations from St. Louis had been so urgent that an early decision had been reached to meet there and to carry a message of civic inspiration to the west. It was a war time civic convention and in full harmony with the statement of President Wilson that "war must not destroy civic efficiency."

The convention was introduced to St. Louis in an effective way. Sunday, October 21, the day prior to the opening of the convention, had been declared civic Sunday and many of the churches announced sermons on the general subject of "Civic Advance in War Times." The plan proved a complete success and through it many people were given a message of inspiration and the convention itself a sup-

port on the part of churchgoing people that was invaluable.

The keynote of the convention was sounded by President J. Horace McFarland who took for his subject "A New Call to the Colors," in which he emphasized the responsibility that rests upon those Americans who are not to go to the trenches in France in maintaining the principles of true democracy. The test of democracy, Mr. McFarland said, rested equally with the soldiers who had responded to the call to the colors and those at home whose duty was clear and sharp to participate as they had never before participated in all affairs of public interest, in their towns, the states and the nation.

Monday afternoon was devoted to "Industrial Housing," with notable addresses by Dr. John Nolen, on "Economic Problems of Industrial Housing"; Miss Marguerite Walker Jordan, on "Men and Bricks in the Making"; Major W. H. Starrett, U. S. Reserve Corps, on "The

<sup>1</sup> 1192 S. W. 915.

<sup>2</sup> 163 Pac. 670.

<sup>3</sup> 117 Atl. 312.

Building of the Army Cantonments," who attended on the special authorization of the secretary of war.

A session that proved of particular interest and that had been asked for by communities adjacent to St. Louis, was that devoted to the "Problems of the Smaller Cities," with George B. Dealey, general manager of the *Dallas News*, presiding. There is no more enthusiastic civic worker than Mr. Dealey and under his leadership fine discussions followed the principal addresses of the morning.

In the annual business session Secretary Watrous detailed the work of the association during the year and reported that the war had not militated against a fine spirit of civic activity. He urged the importance of a sustained movement for the physical benefit of the cities and expressed it as his belief that the workers who had been efficient and who, because of that efficiency had been called upon to do important work for the government in the prosecution of the war, would continue to do double service in order that there might be no cessation in civic advance. The officers of last year were re-elected.

RICHARD B. WATROUS.



**Richmond Survey.**—A survey of Richmond, Virginia, has been made by the New York bureau of municipal research. Holding that the mayor is little more than a figurehead, the bureau recommends a series of charter changes designed to centralize in the mayor both authority and responsibility for the management of the administrative departments. It also recommends the reduction of the city council to nine members, and the abolition of the board of aldermen, the administrative board, the offices of city sergeant, coroner, building inspector and board of fire commissioners, the affairs of these several boards to be merged into operative bureaus. The survey also recommends that city employees be appointed as a result of competitive civil service examinations, and a referendum clause be inserted to enable the people to have a direct voice in the city government.

**Special Libraries**—The November issue of this publication appears under the editorship of Ralph L. Power, of the Boston University college of business administration, who succeeds John A. Lapp of Indianapolis in that position, Mr. Lapp becoming vice-president of the Special Libraries Association.



**Captain E. O. Heinrich** (B.S. California, 1908), the leading expert on questioned documents in the Pacific Northwest, has been appointed chief of police in Alameda, Cal. Captain Heinrich during the past summer gave instruction in the University of California summer school on the application of the laboratory to the detection of crime. At the same time he was lecturing to the police school maintained by Chief Volmer of Berkeley on judicial photography. He is a student of criminology and a leading expert on hand-writing, typewriter identification and all phases of questioned documents work. Captain Heinrich is also at work on a monograph on forgery to be published under the auspices of the American Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology.

J. B. KAISER.



**Louis F. Budenz**, acting secretary of the civic league of St. Louis since the resignation of Roger N. Baldwin, has been chosen as permanent secretary. Previous to his connection with the civic league, Mr. Budenz was secretary of the Missouri state committee for social legislation and at one time had been associate editor of *The Carpenter*, the official organ of the united brotherhood of carpenters and joiners. Frank P. Crunden, a well-known business man of St. Louis, active for many years in civic work, was elected president of the league.



**Roger N. Baldwin**, formerly secretary of the St. Louis civic league, is now secretary of the National Civil Liberties Bureau (70 Fifth Avenue, New York), which has for its object "the maintenance in war time of the rights of free press, free

speech, peaceful assembly, and freedom from unlawful search and seizure."

\* \*

**John A. Lapp**, director of the bureau of legislative information of Indiana for the past nine years, will assume the directorship of the state investigation in Ohio of sickness insurance, sickness prevention and old age pensions. This investigation was authorized by the last session of the legislature and an appropriation of \$25,000 was given for the purpose.

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**Charles Kettleborough**, who has been statistician for the Indiana bureau of legislative information, will assume charge of the bureau upon the retirement of Mr. Lapp January 1. The bureau has been enlarged by the addition of the state bureau of statistics through the executive action of Governor James P. Goodrich.

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**C. J. Decker**, a member of the Akron bureau of municipal research, has resigned to take an executive position in the Toronto bureau under Dr. Brittain.

\* \*

**Don E. Mowry**, a member of the National Municipal League, has become general secretary of the Madison association of commerce.

\* \*

**J. Lionberger Davis**, president of the St. Louis chamber of commerce and a member of the National Municipal League, has been appointed assistant to A. Mitchell Palmer, the conservator of alien property.

\* \*

**Alfred Bettman**, a member of the council of the National Municipal League and formerly city solicitor of Cincinnati, has been appointed special assistant to the attorney-general of the United States in an emergency division of the department created to administer the war statutes.

**John M. Guild** has resigned as secretary of the Greater Dayton association to become secretary of the Kansas City chamber of commerce.

\* \*

**Jesse M. Switzer**, by virtue of having received the highest number of votes of the six candidates for city commissioner in Dayton, becomes the mayor. Mr. Switzer is well known throughout the country for his intelligent advocacy of the city-manager form of government, having spoken on the subject before many Rotary clubs and other commercial, social and political organizations.<sup>1</sup>

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**Carl B. Lohmann**, a graduate of the Pennsylvania State College who afterwards took the course in city and town planning at Harvard, has been appointed town planning adviser of the Pennsylvania bureau of municipalities.

\* \*

**Robert S. Binkerd**, formerly secretary of the New York city club, is now the secretary of the railway executive advisory committee, of which Frank Trumbull is chairman.

\* \*

**Richard B. Watrous** has resigned as secretary of the American Civic Association to become the Washington representative of the Nestle Food Company, which is doing a large business supplying the needs of the Allies. His resignation took effect on December 15.

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**C. M. Osborn**, who for ten years has been city engineer of Lorain, has been appointed city manager of East Cleveland, Ohio.

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**Kenyon Riddle**, of Abilene, Kansas, formerly city manager of that place, has been appointed city manager of Xenia, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup>See *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, vol. v, p. 679.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE  
HELD AT  
DETROIT, MICH., NOVEMBER 21, 22, 23, 1917

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

*Wednesday, November 21, 1917, 3 p.m.*

Hon. William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind., in the chair.

Chairman Foulke introduced Mayor Oscar B. Marx of Detroit, who delivered the following address of welcome.

You have chosen a particularly opportune time for your conference in this city. We are sorely in need of your counsel and most eager to receive it. We are about to engage in the task of revising a charter which has been our rulebook since the days of horse-cars and toll-gates. Consequently, I am most pleased to welcome you and to obtain from you the assistance which I know you are well equipped to supply.

Since your arrival, I presume you have learned that the people of Detroit prepared for your advent a few weeks ago. They didn't exactly "kill the fatted calf" but they did sign the death warrant for an aldermanic body that was waxing larger and more inefficient each year, in addition to declaring by an overwhelming vote, for the abolition of wellnigh impossible methods of transacting public business, through a revision of the city charter.

Detroit, like other large American cities, was slow to adopt progressive legislation which would enable it to govern itself more efficiently. In fact, all of its reforms were postponed until the last few years but the city's record during that period has been an encouraging one and I think that an inquiry will convince you that not only is Detroit awakened to-day but that its spirit—civic, national and moral, is as wholesome as that of any large city in the United States.

Since November of 1913, Detroit has provided for civil service regulations in municipal departments, created an election commission which did away with numerous election abuses and abolished a board of estimates which was both unwieldy and inefficient, substituting for it a board of five members controlled by the mayor. A ward-chosen board of education has been replaced by a non-partisan selected-at-large body of seven members. An amendment was adopted making the mayor in reality the general manager of the city, by giving him power to remove at will, all appointive city officials except members of the civil service commission. Recently, in addition to providing for charter revision, the voters expressed their approval of a plan to do away with the forty-two man ward-elected council in favor of a small non-partisan body elected at large.

You will observe that while we were tardy in starting our program for practical government, progress has been steady and genuine.

Needless to say, these reforms were not obtained without a contest. As has been the experience in other cities, stubborn resistance was offered, but through the efforts of the press, the Detroit citizens' league and the Detroit bureau of governmental research and other organizations, the voter has been enlightened to such an extent that he was not deceived by the numerous false arguments that were used in an effort to obstruct progressive legislation.

In a recent election, we had the encouraging spectacle of a united press co-operating with the citizens' league, the bureau of municipal research with citizens

who had the good of Detroit at heart and with those city officials of like mind.

Because of the activities connected with the war, it was impossible to begin the campaign of education until two weeks before the election. When it was started, however, the newspapers generously gave valuable space for the presentation of facts concerning the issues to be voted on. The support of patriotic and public-spirited citizens was enlisted in an advertising campaign which was conducted by the Adcraft club of this city. While the vote was small, much smaller than it should have been, in a city of nearly a million inhabitants, the small council and charter revision propositions were adopted by a vote of nearly four to one.

I have made mention of these facts simply because I want you to feel that you are laboring in a responsive field. From the experience which we have had with the Detroit bureau of governmental research, we know that your visit will be of real value to Detroit and we hope that it may not be without profit to you.

In revising our charter we do not expect to get all of the needed reforms immediately. The commission which has been selected is composed of level-headed, practical men and they are going to be on their guard lest too many radical changes should prevent the charter from receiving ratification in spring.

The great majority of our people wish Detroit to advance in municipal government as it has industrially. We want to see a manifestation of civic spirit similar to that which has caused it to be a leader in patriotic endeavor—the first city in the United States to over-subscribe its liberty loan and Red Cross quotas.

The President, Lawson Purdy, Esq., of New York, then delivered his annual address on "Municipal Pensions."

The secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., Philadelphia, then read his annual address entitled "American Cities During War Times".

<sup>1</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 1.

At the request of Chairman Foulke, President Purdy took the chair.

MR. FOULKE: Hitherto it has been the policy of the League to act rather as a clearing house for different municipal ideas than as a propagandist body but of late years we have agreed so fully upon many of the measures which have been considered by us, for instance the city-manager plan, civil service reform, the short ballot, that it was deemed desirable this morning in the meeting of the council of the League, that something further should be done and that the question as to matters in which we are practically unanimous we should act further as a propagandist body and endeavor to promote the principles we advocate.

Hitherto the ideas, the judgment and views of the members of the League have been so diverse upon the subject of woman suffrage that we have not taken any distinct action in respect to it, but it seems to me that the time has now come when it becomes necessary for the League to act in regard to that as in regard to some other matters, and I believe that our views are at least accumulating in such a shape that they will become practically unanimous before very long, if they are not now.

Therefore, I move the following resolution:

*Resolved*. That it is the sense of the National Municipal League that the time has now come to call upon the women of the country for their aid in carrying on the reforms of municipal administration which the country needs and that for this purpose municipal suffrage for women is highly desirable and necessary. (Applause.)

It has not been the custom of the League to pass resolutions and it's not my purpose to project this resolution and ask for its immediate consideration, but I do move that it be referred to the council of the League, which will meet tomorrow, probably, to consider this question and to pass upon it and to determine in what manner the League should act in the premises and to report their conclusions at some subsequent meeting.

I move the reference of this resolution

to the council of the League, which motion was seconded and carried.<sup>3</sup>

THE PRESIDENT: The next item of business is the report of the committee on state municipal leagues, which will be presented by Homer Talbot, Lawrence, Kansas.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STATE MUNICIPAL LEAGUES

Your committee on state municipal Leagues submits two reports.

(1) First will be read that prepared by W. P. Capes, secretary of the New York conference of mayors and other city officials and chairman of the committee:

Your committee on state municipal leagues is unanimous on two points, namely: (1) That only one worth while suggestion can be made by it at this time; and (2) That a special effort should be made by the National Municipal League to have a national conference of secretaries of state leagues in connection with its annual meeting in 1918.

Such a conference, we believe, should bring about a closer affiliation of state organizations in order that they may participate actively and unitedly in the solution of national problems affecting all municipalities, establish a more direct interchange of ideas and act jointly in defence whenever the necessity arises.

We recommend that either our successors or the secretary of the National Municipal League, or both, be directed to correspond with the president of each state organization and urge that at its next annual meeting his league make provision to pay the expenses of its secretary to an annual conference to be held in 1918 in connection with the meeting of the National Municipal League.

(2) The tentative report just presented not meeting with the entire approval of all of the members of the committee—in that it was thought inadvisable to delay longer in the movement for the call of a conference on state municipal leagues—the matter was taken up through correspondence with the secretaries of a number of such organizations.

<sup>3</sup>The Council of the League at its meeting on November 22 requested one of its members, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Mich., to prepare a formal careful statement on the subject for later publication.

In harmony with the responses received, favoring the calling of a meeting of executive officers of state municipal organizations and others interested in the work of such associations, and the holding of such a conference in connection with the sessions of the National Municipal League this year, action has been taken accordingly.

Two conference sessions have been held—one or both being participated in by representatives of the leagues of municipalities of New Jersey, North Carolina, Minnesota, Texas, Wisconsin and Kansas, and by a city manager from Virginia, a Kentucky city executive and a city engineer of a Michigan municipality—and a temporary organization of state municipal leagues has been effected. The name of the newly established association is "The Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities."

The following subjects, among others, have been discussed at our meetings:

The need for better co-operation between state leagues of municipalities, and methods for obtaining it; relations of state leagues to the National Municipal League; budgets of state municipal organizations; activities and services of state leagues; relations to other organizations and institutions; associate members, and state municipal league conventions and publications. We also held a post-mortem over certain state leagues of municipalities, and a consultation over the condition of others. We, however, are glad indeed to report the finding of good conditions in a considerable number of state leagues; with excellent outlook for real and continued progress and service on behalf of the people of the cities and towns of the states.

We also report that at our conference to be held tomorrow morning we expect to take up the subject of war services of state leagues of municipalities, and a further discussion relating to other activities of state municipal organizations.

A conference of state leagues of municipalities has been organized with Homer Talbot, Lawrence, Kansas, chairman; Dr. John A. Fairlie, secretary of the Illinois municipal league, vice-chairman, and Claude H. Anderson, of the New Jersey

league, secretary. The names of the trustees will be made known upon their acceptance.

May we add that we appreciate very sincerely the opportunity afforded us by the National Municipal League and Mr. Woodruff, its secretary, for the calling of this conference on state municipal leagues in connection with the meeting of the national organizations interested in better city government; and may we further add that in our arranging our own program for our sessions at next year's meeting of the National Municipal League, we should be glad indeed if you would consider the possibilities for good results to be gained through the holding of one joint session of your organization with the conference on state leagues of municipalities?

HOMER TALBOT,  
*Member of Committee.*

MR. TALBOT: There are three other matters I wish to refer to. The first is that Mr. Paxton was asked to prepare a paper and report on the activities of state municipal leagues, which will be referred to the editor of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* for publication therein. The second is that arrangements have been made for preparing an exhibit showing the work of state leagues of municipalities to be shown at the next meeting. The third is that a committee has been appointed to confer and co-operate with the union of Canadian municipalities in order that we may work more closely with our friends and allies on the other side of the boundary line. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: The next report will be on "The City Manager as a Profession," by Henry M. Waite.

Dr. Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, presented the report of the committee:

1. Commissions have made a city manager profession by showing a willingness to go outside of their own communities for city managers.

2. That the city managers are receiving invitations to other towns and there now have been seven cases of transfer, showing

that the tendency is to recognize the existence of professional experience.

3. City managers recognize that a career lies before them in this field and are seriously building up their experience to make it a life career.

The profession can be said, therefore, to have come into existence with every indication of continuance. It is interesting to note from the registration at the city managers' convention this year that out of 25 about 95 per cent are engineers indicating that commissioners turn to the municipal engineer for managers.

1. Small cities (under 20,000) pop.): Preferably engineer. Executive ability is first essential.

2. Larger cities (20,000-200,000 pop.): Executive ability first essential. Engineering less essential.

3. Large cities (over 200,000 pop.): Executive ability prime essential.

Your committee believes that city manager qualifications may be from present experience, classified as follows:

#### TRAINING CITY MANAGERS

*Experience* shows that actual experience is considered as most valuable equipment.

*Education*.—The attempt to lay out courses by universities for training city managers is handicapped by the fact that a major requirement is native executive ability which cannot be taught. A university cannot train a man to be an ordinary business executive.

It cannot propose a man to step into the management of a city.

It can train him to step into the management of a village. The attempt to lay out a course reveals the fact that the entire field cannot be covered by thoroughness in every branch that confronts a manager.

It is essential, therefore, that rather than give a man a smattering of all the many subjects, that he be thoroughly trained along some one or two lines such as engineering or accounting or whatever may be his natural bent, the balance of his time in college being devoted to obtaining a general knowledge of the other fields.

We believe the National Municipal

League could fill a useful function by maintaining a roster of city managers with their experience as well as a roster of competent men who are desirous of entering this field.

HENRY M. WAITE, *Chairman.*

THE SECRETARY: I should like to ask, in the event of the recommendation of the committee carrying, that there be established in the offices of the National Municipal League a list of eligible men, how that eligibility should be determined. It is a rather important matter. I don't think any one man should be given that authority. It ought to be committee action if it is done, because the determination of a man's eligibility for being a city manager is no easy task, especially in the absence of any great number of standards in the matter.

DR. WAITE: The idea of the committee was simply to be of assistance to communities looking for city managers. Undoubtedly the roster which we would make of existing city managers would be of a great help. We do not believe it is necessary or advisable for the League necessarily to recommend, but to be able to give communities desiring city managers such information as the League is able to compile.

I think it would be folly for the League to say to any community that any particular man which might be on our list would be competent; what they desire is to obtain a list of men who are available and then let them get in communication with those applicants.

THE SECRETARY: Would there be any objection on the part of the committee to have that list put out by the League but only after the recommendation of the majority of this committee?

DR. WAITE: I can very easily see that if you wait for the committee to pass upon them they would not be any more able to pass upon them than any other individual and it isn't the idea of this committee that we are recommending or that the League would recommend any particular individual. I don't think that it should be the League's position to recom-

mend but to simply give to people desiring the information the list which you may have.

THE PRESIDENT: The next report is the model public library section, Samuel H. Ranck, librarian, Grand Rapids.

MR. RANCK: This is a report of five persons, members of the American Library Association, who were asked to draft a library section of the proposed model city charter for the city-manager form of government. I might say that about two years before this committee was named, the American Library Association appointed a special committee to draft a report on the relations of the library to the municipality, and that that report, after publication of about a year and general discussion, was formally adopted by the association as the expression of the opinion of the association of what should be the relation between the library and the municipality.

The points in that report are embodied in this report which I am about to read and I might say that two of the members of this committee which drew this report for the National Municipal League were members of the other committee of the American Library Association that drew up that formal report. The chairman of that first committee was Dr. Bostwick of St. Louis, the librarian of the public library, who is a member of this committee, and I also was a member of that committee.

#### COMMITTEE ON MODEL LIBRARY SECTION

Your committee appointed to draft the library section of the proposed model city charter submits the following as its report:

Before giving the draft of the proposed section we wish to record our conviction (which is also the conviction of the American Library Association as expressed by the unanimous adoption of the report of its special committee on the relation between the library and the municipality) that education is a matter of state concern rather than merely of local concern, and therefore, so far as possible, the state should provide by general laws for the education of all the people of the state;

and furthermore, that the public library should everywhere be regarded as a most important part of the educational machinery of the state.

Where there is no suitable state law providing for the organization and administration of a public library, it is appropriate for the city itself to provide for such organization and maintenance under general home rule provisions, by including in the city charter such library provision. It is for such cities especially, therefore, that the following draft is submitted:

*Draft of the Library Section of the Proposed Model City Charter*

SECTION 1. The city commission (or the mayor and common council) shall have power to establish a public library and shall appoint a board of five persons (to which board women shall be eligible) to administer the public library so established, or to administer an existing public library of the city. Each member of such library board shall serve, without compensation, for a term of five years, one retiring each year, after having determined by lot on first appointment which shall serve for one, two, three, four, and five years respectively. A member of this board may be removed by the city commission for neglect of duty or conduct detrimental to the best interests of the library after charges have been preferred in writing and the member has been given the opportunity of defense. Vacancies for the unexpired term of any members shall be filled by the city commission.

SECTION 2. This board shall be known as the board of library commissioners (or directors or trustees) of the city of \_\_\_\_\_. The board shall have the powers of a public corporation and shall have full control over the maintenance and operation of the public library of the city of \_\_\_\_\_ within the limitations of this charter and the general laws of the state. It shall adopt rules, stating the general terms on which the library may be used by the public, and shall have power to enforce the same. The board may receive gifts and bequests, acquire and transfer property, real and per-

sonal, act as trustee for the same, sue and be sued. It shall manage all libraries owned by the city and may contract with other public bodies, within and without the city, to render library service.

SECTION 3. Annually in the levying of taxes for municipal purposes the city commission shall levy not less than \_\_\_\_\_ mills on each dollar of the assessed valuation of the city, for the support and development of the public library.

SECTION 4. All moneys collected for the use of the library, whether by taxation or otherwise, shall be in the custody of the city treasurer and shall be paid out by him on vouchers duly attested by the library board and audited by the proper city authorities.

In the case of a gift offered to the library on conditions involving the performance of certain acts annually, the board shall refer to the city commission the matter of such gift and its conditions, which shall be confirmed by the city commission by ordinance in the form of a contract, before the same shall become operative.

SECTION 5. The library board shall appoint and promote all employees of the library for merit only, and the board shall adopt and use such measures as will in its best judgment conduce to this end. It shall have full power to dismiss any employee for stated cause, after such employee has been given the opportunity of a hearing.

SECTION 6. The library shall submit to the city commission an annual report of its work in detail, together with its receipts and expenditures, within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

(Signed) SAMUEL H. RANCK  
Librarian, Grand Rapids (Michigan) Public Library, Chairman.

J. C. DANA  
Librarian, Free Public Library, Newark, N. J.

DREW B. HALL  
Late Librarian, Public Library, Somerville, Mass., U. S. R., Q. M. C.

HARRISON W. CRAVER  
Director of the Library of the United Engineering Societies, New York City.

ARTHUR E. BOSTWICK  
Librarian, Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.

By way of supplement to the foregoing permit me to state with reference to the membership of the committee that I believe that it is fairly representative of public libraries in America to-day. John Cottan Dana's work as Librarian at Newark is widely known. He was formerly a president of the American Library Association. Drew B. Hall at the time of his appointment to this committee was librarian at Somerville, Mass. He is now in the United States Army. Harrison W. Craver was formerly a vice-president of the American Library Association and for a number of years was librarian of the Carnegie library at Pittsburgh. He is now librarian of the United Engineering Societies, of New York city. Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, before becoming librarian of the St. Louis public library, organized the Brooklyn public library, and for a number of years was head of the circulation department of the New York public library. He has served as president of the American Library Association.

In working out this report the committee has sought the opinions of fellow librarians in all parts of the country, and submitted a draft of the report at the meeting of the American Library Association at Louisville last June. So far as the knowledge of the committee goes it meets with the unanimous approval of the library profession of the country, and it has been formally endorsed by the *Library Journal*, whose editor Mr. R. R. Bowker is well known to many of the members of the League. Many other authorities on public libraries have expressed their approval of it.

SAMUEL H. RANCK,  
*Chairman.*

June 28, 1917.

MR. CHILDS: I'd like to ask the last speaker a little about that report. It seems to me that on behalf of a certain group of municipal employees that report has laid out a particular featherbed for that particular group, something which protects them from politics, to be sure, protects them from a manager who has an economical streak, protects them from

various kinds of assault by the creation of a five-year overlapping board which is a term longer than that of the commissioners themselves and perhaps longer than the life of the manager in office, and in general sets up around the life of the library peculiar and particular defenses.

There is also a definite, permanent annual appropriation or mill tax set aside for their use. Now of course we couldn't contemplate in a charter the extension of that principle to many classes of municipal employees; we couldn't set it up for other departments. Otherwise, we'd soon find our budget-making control had passed out of the hands of the representative body.

In theory the thing seems wrong; in practice it may be necessary. I should like to know what is the particular situation which makes it necessary for this class of public servants to have the peculiar protection and isolation which is set up in this report.

MR. RANCK: You refer first to the mill tax. It has been the experience of librarians that a number of libraries have grossly suffered through a new administration coming in altogether out of sympathy, perhaps; or which for the sake of economy the library has been cut ruthlessly, with the result that it has required a number of years for it to come back to its former condition. That happened in Pittsburgh and it happened in Cleveland some years ago that a number of branches had to be closed, and it is the opinion of librarians that a minimum should be placed so that that sort of thing will not be likely to occur again. A number of cities have settled it in this way: Overlapping boards do give a continuing policy. Library work, to be effectively and economically administered, ought to be planned ahead for a series of years and where the board and the budget are unknown from year to year that cannot be done effectively. That is the experience of libraries in that particular case.

MAYOR BARBER, of Joliet: Wherein does the department of the library require other or different protection on the budget question from any other depart-

ment in the city administration. You are trying in this plan, as I see it, to lay out a program and make it effective, running through a term of years and you are tying down your city administration to provide the necessary funds to make that effective. We do not in other departments; why should the library have a precedence over any other department?

MR. RANCK: The library is primarily educational work and it has been the experience of the library, to go back historically, that lack of an appropriation is very detrimental. The libraries of this country are a newer institution than the schools, are not so well established as the schools and it is the first institution to suffer when it comes to cutting funds.

In Michigan I might say that the mill tax is quite common. For instance, in Grand Rapids it is four-tenths of a mill on the assessed valuation as a minimum. It can be more than that. In Canadian cities it is five-tenths of a mill and in a great many state laws there is a mill tax.

MR. BARBER: The only thing I criticise at all is the remark that was the thought for creating for your library provision under city government a condition which may not obtain in the other divisions and that you have, as Mr. Childs remarked, got a feather bed proposition. Don't misunderstand me! I was for twenty-two years on a library board myself and know something about the game.

MR. RANCK: Let me give another illustration: The war is hitting the libraries very hard. The War Department is calling for about seven thousand classifiers and head-liners for its work and they are largely coming out of the library. I was talking to the librarian of Chillicothe, O., last Saturday where we had a conference on war work for the soldiers and he said his organization was going to pieces on account of the fact that he can't get the trained people in his city to keep up his organization. The library is going to pieces and the law doesn't permit them to bring in people from the outside.

E. L. BENNETT, of Minneapolis: We have an instance in St. Paul where the

library is not protected by this featherbed provision. The library and the city schools are under the overlordship of the commissioner of education. We have neither library nor school boards in St. Paul—just the commissioner who is on a par with the other six commissioners and the mayor.

Recently St. Paul opened a beautiful library building. They haven't very many books in it yet, and due to the war and other circumstances St. Paul didn't want to spend money for providing administrative quarters for a lot of things. The commissioner of education had a brilliant notion about the same time that the commissioner of public safety did. The commissioner of education concluded to move his administrative offices into the new library and he was going to let the commissioner of public safety put a fire company in one corner of the basement or some structure to be attached thereto.

I don't believe that any of us would agree that it would have been wise if those projects had been put over. As a matter of fact, they weren't, but it was because the St. Paul association and the citizens who had been instrumental in getting the library and had contributed a large part of the funds protested so vigorously that the administration was constrained to back down.

MR. CHILDS: It seems to me that the place to provide for the continuity is in the commission-manager plan. I can see that such a provision as this, where a city is subject to the varying policy that follows upon a change of mayor, might be desirable enough to warrant its introduction. I can see the same thing as to the old commission plan, but in the commission-manager plan we are supposed to get a certain amount of continuity in the commission and I think that is the place to find it—in the representative body that is elected to determine which of the things that the city is to keep going in the same old way and which are the things that ought to be changed.

I am as yet unconvinced of the desirability of incorporating this provision in our model charter.

I know of a city where every department is in the hands of just such a commission as is here proposed for the library but it is not a good form of government and it is not a good principle of government.

*Miss McCormick, of Cleveland:* It seems to me that the education of the citizenship lies at the very foundation of the successful operation of our form of government. I think it is very much more important that the entire citizenship should be educated than that the fire department should be successfully conducted, and I do believe that more careful safeguards should be thrown around the educational department, including the library which is distinctly an educational institution, both supplementing the schools and affording the only opportunity for continued education after the school years.

*Mr. Bennett, Minneapolis:* In addition to the features which have been mentioned wherein the library differs from a fire department, in that it is an educational institution and that the whole state has an interest in it which appears to me is almost enough to overrule Mr. Childs' objection, there is the circumstance that very often we find the citizens at large contributing to the erection of a library building or to the establishment of it, as in St. Paul a very great part of the fund for building that building was raised upon the distinct understanding that it should be expended for library purposes and that a good library should be maintained regardless of party politics.

The report was then referred to the council which has provided for its reference to a special committee (consisting of such members of the committee on municipal program as would be willing to serve) created to consider this and sundry other propositions including amendments in the proportional representation sections of the appendix, and such other changes as might be suggested during the year.

Adjournment.

#### WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

*Hotel Statler, Wednesday, November 21, 1917, 8.15 p.m.*

Addresses on "Feeding Our Cities in War Time" were delivered by the Hon. Everett Colby, Orange, N. J., of the Food Administration, and Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Mich., head of the Woman's Council of National Defense in Michigan, before a large audience of the Detroit board of commerce in the latter's auditorium. Preceding the larger meeting Mrs. Crane spoke on "The Housewife and the Marketing Problem" at a group meeting, at which session the addresses of President Marcus M. Marks of the Borough of Manhattan on "Wholesale and Retail Markets," and of Clarence S. Kates of Philadelphia on "Agents for Better Local Distribution of Food" were presented.<sup>1</sup>

#### THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

*Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 9.30 a.m.*

Vice-President J. Horace McFarland took the chair, President Purdy having been called away by official duties in New York.

The first item of business was the presentation of the report of George Burnham, Jr., treasurer, for the six months ending September 30, 1917, which was read by Ferdinand H. Graser.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT

FOR 6 MONTHS, ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1917

##### RECEIPTS

|                               |            |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Dues .....                    | \$4,502.65 |
| REVIEW subscriptions .....    | 145.00     |
| Contributions .....           | 1,998.00   |
| REVIEW sales .....            | 178.60     |
| Sales sundry publications ... | 179.35     |
| N. M. L. series .....         | 77.40      |
| Miscellaneous:                |            |
| Loans .....                   | 2,650.00   |
| Advertising .....             | 15.00      |

<sup>1</sup> The editor of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* is planning to publish these papers in a future number.



*Council—*

\*Edward K. Putnam, Davenport, Iowa.  
Thomas H. Reed, San Jose, Cal.  
Francis B. Sayre, Cambridge, Mass.  
Mary K. Simkhovitch; New York.  
Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.  
\*Theodore F. Thieme, Fort Wayne, Ind.  
\*L. D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.  
Henry M. Waite, Dayton, Ohio.  
A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
\*Lionel Weil, Goldsboro, N. C.  
James H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Submitted by the Committee:

RICHARD S. CHILDS,  
ALBERT DE ROODE,  
JOHN IHLDER,  
DELOS F. WILCOX,  
CAMILLO G. KIDDER, *Chairman.*

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the nominating committee. What is your pleasure?

In the absence of any other names a motion was made and carried that the secretary cast a unanimous vote for the nominations for officers and council. The secretary reported that he had cast such a ballot for the list as nominated by the committee.

THE SECRETARY: I desire to say at this time that during the past year we lost two of our active members by death, both of them men who for many years had been actively identified with us—Hon. George W. Guthrie, a vice-president of the League and one of its earliest and most effective supporters; the other our dear friend F. S. Spence, of Toronto. The council, at its April meeting, took appropriate action upon both of these deaths and the minutes which were adopted have been forwarded to their respective families and made a part of the records of the League.

I think it would be appropriate at this time to report what was undertaken at the council's meeting yesterday at what was one of the most interesting and suggestive meetings of the council in the history of the League. The question of the League's activities in this period of war and national stress was discussed in detail and with great care. There was a

unanimous sentiment that the work of the League should be continued unabated, that now more than ever it was necessary that our municipal governments should be set in order and kept in order, that the machinery of government should be improved to the greatest possible extent and that the expenditures of money should be upon a basis of the community's usefulness rather than that of any personal, factional or party privilege.

Among the questions discussed—it is true at no very great length, because there seemed to be no differing opinion—was that the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be continued. The spirit that manifested itself in the council was a very marked one and fully justified what the secretary, in his annual review yesterday, referred to with regard to the steadfastness of civic organizations at this time.

There has been no apparent let-up anywhere in the United States upon the part of those organizations, national, state and local, which for the last decade or two have been contributing so largely to the development of a sound municipal opinion and to the movement for improved municipal conditions. That a meeting should be held at this time under all the extraordinary circumstances that are surrounding the country and manifest a spirit of this kind is certainly most significant and indicates the determination—one might almost say *grim* determination—of the men and women who have made the municipal movement in this country what it is.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair very heartily seconds what the secretary has said concerning the discussion of the suggestion that the National Municipal League should stop the publication of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. It seems to have been invisible in the council. It did not require any argument or any other than the statement to draw out a unanimous disposition to keep right on.

It does seem as if there had been a misconception with respect to how a nation might fight a war. I believe that some of us, at least this particular one of us who is speaking at this moment, thought at the

\*New nominations.

first that the only way to fight a war was for all of the nation not actually engaged in wearing khaki and carrying guns to sit on the fence and watch them go by. Some of us, at least, waked up to the fact that if we did that the fence wouldn't hold us and the men who were marching by would soon starve.

From that comes the reaction that if there is to be a successful prosecution of this war it will have to be fought out in the very heart of the United States and nowhere else. If Germany is to be beaten, she is going to be beaten where troops of the enemy will never touch her—she will be beaten at home. If the United States, then, will win, it will win by the utmost possible developed efficiency in the handling of the inner work of the people.

I have been talking this morning to Mrs. Crane who last night addressed a sort of adventitiously controlled meeting in the board of commerce, and she has given of her tremendous energies toward organizing this state of Michigan on the inner firing line. I feel that it is absolutely no more than the sincerest and most definite patriotism and self-sacrifice for those of us who are devoted to bringing about and maintaining better conditions in our home towns to keep at it.

Most of you have observed, I have no doubt, that the federal government, without any definite action in that direction, has seemed to throw the control of its fighting forces into the selection, either by conscription or voluntary enlistment of the men who are to fight. It uniforms them, trains them, arms them, moves them about, shelters them and fits them. It stops there. If those men are hurt the federal government does not take care of them, and during the very important period of their existence prior to the opportunity to be hurt and during the time when they are on the firing line but not actually in service, the federal government does absolutely nothing for them but feed them.

The function of recreation which affects so immensely the morale and fighting efficiency of the army, the federal government was not prepared to cope with.

That function has now been turned over very definitely, but unofficially, to the Y. M. C. A. and it thus comes about that the fighting of this war is in the hands of the federal government, of the Y. M. C. A., and of the Red Cross.

Now it has been brought forth also that the proportions of these things need to be understood. Of every hundred men who go over the top, according to recent statistics, two are killed and three are wounded. Ninety-five come back to go again. After they have gone over the top, they are given a period of rest back of the lines. Because no attention has been paid by the armies of England and Canada to the care of that time back of the trenches, 25 per cent, two hundred and fifty thousand out of a million, were incapacitated for duty, and after the consideration of the function of recreation began, that inefficiency was reduced to 8 per cent, or eighty thousand out of a million.

It is well that we take these facts unto our minds because they relate absolutely to the conduct of our home communities and therein lies a part of the work of this great organization and every other organization which wants to see the war succeed. We've got to keep the home communities clean and well governed. We've got to get a hundred cents or a hundred and one cents if we can manage it, for every dollar we spend out of the public funds.

I believe every one of us is promoting the business of fighting in the most efficient way if he is trying to make his own home town a better place to live in and work in and a richer place in which the government may find more money to sustain the war.

MR. FESLER: In conformity with the remarks made by the chairman and secretary, I should like to offer a resolution:

WHEREAS, In times of national emergencies such as now confronts the country it is well to take stock of our social and municipal forces and determine wherein our voluntary associations and activities can be better organized and co-ordinated for more efficient promotion of the government, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the National Municipal League in annual meeting assembled, That the president of the League appoint a

committee of five members from different cities of the country to examine into the records of the League, to analyze its contributions and subscription list, to inquire into its activities, to consider the possibility of increasing its income, extending its field of effort and perfecting a closer co-ordination of its work with other associations in closely allied fields of effort and to make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting. Be it further

*Resolved*, That the council of the National Municipal League be requested to provide out of the funds of the League a sum necessary to meet the expenses incurred by the committee in connection with its investigations.

The motion as seconded was carried.

MR. WINSHIP: I think the secretary struck the keynote of the members of this organization. I believe there is a tremendous possibility for increasing the work and effectiveness of the National Municipal League. I think this resolution as offered by Mr. Fesler might be beneficial and of very far-reaching effects. I think that out of this great body of men the yearly attendance is unnecessarily small. It seems to me that with this great array of names nominated for next year, ten of the names only being new ones, that we should have by some effort or other a larger attendance at these meetings, that there should be a greater effort made to have the co-operation of everyone in these meetings. I trust you will recall the remarks of the secretary.

THE SECRETARY: In these days of multiplied demands upon all patriotically inclined citizens, the financial situation is going to be one of great difficulty. For a number of years past the multiplicity of organizations which seems to be inevitable has made the raising of adequate sums of money a matter of the greatest difficulty to those who have been charged with that function.

Yesterday, at the meeting of the council, the opinion was expressed very strongly that it was necessary to do a great deal more propaganda work than had been done in the past. That can only be done by materially increasing the forces at the command of the League and that increase in the force can only come as the result of

increased financial support, so I trust that either as a part of this motion or as a supplement to it, some action will be taken looking towards the reinforcing of the hands of those who have borne the burden during the past generation so that this financial problem, which is a serious one and which is increasingly serious, shall have the support of new blood.

So far as the matter of attendance is concerned, that, too, ought to have attention and attention in a very definite way. Very few people realize how large the administrative work of the National Municipal League has become. It is in touch through its officers not only with every part of the United States and with all the various localities that are interested, but carries on the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* which itself is a burden of considerable proportions.

It has to do with the arrangement of the work and the carrying forward of the work of the various committees, both the administrative committees and sundry other committees that are appointed from time to time to consider and report upon various special problems and various special features of the work.

That work, notwithstanding the war and all its distractions, has increased. Just how many per cent, of course, it is not possible offhand to state, but it has considerably and materially increased and bids fair to increase in the coming months and for that reason I hope that steps may be taken to bring to the League not only larger financial support but the support of a larger number of men and women.

The council which you have just elected is a representative body, a portion of which actively participates in the various meetings of the council that are held from time to time and others co-operate in their respective localities.

Heretofore, practically all of the work of raising money has been carried on by the executive officers, which does not harmonize with the views held for instance in the civic secretaries committee, that those who are responsible for the execution ought not also to have the burden of raising the means.

It is a serious and difficult problem which ought to be handled separately and I feel that we have been handicapped very seriously in the past, that there has been no adequate provision for raising the very much larger sums of money that are needed.

HARVEY S. CHASE: At the meeting of the council yesterday the discussion was started but very quickly concluded in regard to whether it would be advisable to omit the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW during the period of the war. Opinion in the council seemed to be very strongly in favor of continuing it. The cost of the REVIEW is one of the elements, the very serious elements, in keeping our financial situation where it is in running us into deficits as we do run into each year, and it seemed to me at that time and it seems so still, that that question of a discontinuance of the REVIEW for the period of the war is one that we ought to consider very seriously.

The REVIEW last year cost us, according to the statements of the treasurer, for six months, nineteen hundred and eighty-seven dollars. We had contributions to the League of just about that amount—nineteen hundred and ninety-eight dollars—so that practically all of the contributions to the League during that six months went to make up the deficit or cost in the REVIEW publication.

Now, if we are going into this propaganda matter outside and if we need additional money which we are going to find exceedingly hard to get—most of us on the council have been through an attempt to increase the contributions, and increase the dues—that question of the value of the REVIEW during the war period is one that seems to me ought to be thoroughly discussed in this meeting.

MR. FESLER: It has been suggested that possibly that resolution covered the question of raising of funds. My point in offering that resolution was not to take care of the funds particularly. I am in full accord with the suggestions made by the secretary and others that that ought to be done but it ought to be done by an entirely different committee. This is a

survey committee, not a finance committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to interject just a word of my own in respect to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. If there is any action to be taken concerning that periodical, I should hope it would be in the change of its name rather than its character or its existence. It does not happen to be a review, nor a digest; it is a bible of civic advance. To cut it off now would be very much like taking away from the army in France, its general orders, very much like taking away from it the news of what the enemy is doing.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, misnamed as it is, expresses bi-monthly as the circumstances now provide, a statement of what is doing and what ought to be done. It is, to my mind, very unique and unreplaceable and I should rather favor, if I were dealing with the subject from the standpoint of the National Municipal League, a concerted and vigorous effort to double its circulation so that it might be more useful and also relatively cheaper.

I sincerely trust no action will be taken to cut off one of the sources of the great advantages of the National Municipal League by diminishing the vigor and success of its greatest work outside its findings. Compared with the usual annual report it is one of the most efficient means for gathering dues that has ever been prepared; the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is alive.

PROFESSOR MUNRO: I want to express my hearty concurrence with the remarks made by you a moment ago, Mr. Chairman. It seems to me that it is absolutely essential that the publication of the REVIEW should go on. Those of us who have been members of the League for a good many years will recall that prior to the establishment of the REVIEW it was customary to publish a volume of proceedings every year. It was thought advisable that the movements which we put forward under our propaganda should go to the readers more often and more directly than was possible with the proceedings.

Accordingly, instead of issuing one

volume of proceedings a year, we undertook to issue what was virtually our volume of proceedings in four parts, calling it the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Some time later the change was made whereby the REVIEW was issued every two months. Speaking for men who are interested in the academic side of municipal government, I think I can say the REVIEW has been an unqualified success. It is the only thing we have as the vehicle of sound instruction in current municipal affairs. All the other periodicals are being maintained—in some cases being cut down in size, in some cases issued not so frequently.

It may be necessary in the case of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to go back to the quarterly issue; it may be necessary to undertake a new campaign for new subscribers, but I think the matter of giving it up temporarily should not be considered at all. Most of you know, for example, that when you break a file of a periodical, you destroy its value almost beyond repair. Every institution that has a file from the stock of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW wants to keep it complete. I, for one, am willing to take my hand in raising money for it. I will do my share. Others, I think, are willing to do likewise. Let's keep the REVIEW, deficit or no deficit.

MR. CHASE: In looking over the treasurer's report we see on the receipt side: "Receipts from loans, \$2,650.00." Apparently there are no payments on the loan during the period, therefore we have borrowed \$2,650.00 and we have reduced our cash balance by nearly \$300.00.

I am as much in favor of the REVIEW as anyone can be and if we can find gentlemen like Mr. Munro and others to furnish the money to carry it on, everything is to be said in its favor but I do not think that we face our financial situation the way we ought to. We ought to have it very clearly before us just what that situation is.

THE SECRETARY: So that this body may have before it a fairly complete picture, please bear in mind that this is a six months' report issued just before a large

batch of bills for annual dues went out. The League, in other words, is very much like many cities. There are periods in its year's history when the funds come in in considerable quantities and there are other periods when they come in in very small quantities and a certain portion of that loan item is to cover the period between the lean and the comparatively fat periods—but still we are short.

The government has found it necessary at this time to call in additional outside forces to an extent never heretofore done and it looks as if the time had come when organizations like the National Municipal League would have to do the same thing, and I do hope that this resolution of Mr. Fesler's which has just been adopted will be followed up by one which I feel is equally important, for if this particular committee authorized here should find it desirable (as I feel sure it will) that there should be an increase in the activities of the League and therefore an increase in the finances, it will be up to somebody to secure those additional finances.

The League from the beginning has depended upon the small contributions of a considerable number rather than the largesse of a few. To-day there is no man and no institution or foundation contributing in any considerable sum to the League. That is in a way a wholly desirable condition, because it makes the League an entirely free and independent agency. It adds, however, very materially to the difficulty of managing the League because it means that there must be a very great effort put forth to keep up and increase the membership, to take up and care for the run of resignations which come in every year and which may be accentuated this year because of war conditions and to take up the loss from death.

PROF. A. R. HATTON: I do not want this question of the relationship of the REVIEW and the finances of the League to pass without saying a word about it. The suggestion that in order to meet the present stringency the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW be abandoned, even the suggestion, although it may not be taken very seriously, impresses me as very much

like the sort of things that cities sometimes do when they find it necessary to retrench.

They immediately lop off the largest sum that can be easily cut away without any consideration as to its importance. Now businesses are finding it necessary to retrench during the war period, but I have never heard of any business that in order to retrench, abandoned the manufacture of its most important product.

If the National Municipal League, in order to meet the situation which may confront it, should discontinue the REVIEW, it would be exactly similar to a business attempting to retrench by stopping the manufacture of its most salable and most important product. I think it is important that this League make a survey of its financial condition and resources and particularly the sources of future income, but certainly in regard to retrenching I am satisfied that a good many other members can be found to be of the opinion as I that some other method of retrenching can be found than discontinuing the REVIEW. We'd just about go out of business altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: Some years ago during a financial stringency the men who advised with John Wanamaker of Philadelphia told him the dreadful tale of the falling off of their sales and they suggested that there must be retrenchment, to which he agreed. It was then suggested that the retrenchment begin in the advertising appropriation to which he responded that it should be from that day doubled. Soon the difficulty disappeared.

In the last financial panic, so I learn from the advertising manager of the Victor Talking Machine Company, a similar suggestion was made to Mr. Johnson. He also took similar action only instead of doubling it he trebled it. His financial stringency also disappeared.

To stop the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW would be somewhat akin to cutting off the means whereby the National Municipal League is known and kept in the minds of its friends.

The chair also feels that this discussion, in the absence of a motion, is out of order.

MR. CHASE: I move that a special financial committee be appointed to discuss the financial condition of the League and report at the next meeting of the League.

THE SECRETARY: May I ask to what extent that differs from Mr. Fesler's carefully worded resolution which is "to inquire into the activities and consider the possibility of increasing the income, extending the field of effort, etc."? I'd like to ask Mr. Fesler if his resolution was not intended to cover this point.

MR. CHASE: If that includes a study of the past and present financial situation of the League, I will be satisfied with it.

MR. FESLER: I didn't so intend. This is to be a survey, not a consideration of the pressing financial condition of the League. I think a special committee, if you are going to have a committee, should take up that question.

PROFESSOR HATTON: I wonder if we are not talking at cross purposes. I supposed, in voting on this resolution of Mr. Fesler, we did contemplate an inquiry into the financial history of the League and perhaps suggestions of ways to finance ourselves for the future. I didn't understand, however, that it is incumbent upon this committee to enter upon any work of raising funds to meet the immediate needs. I think that would be a mistake.

MR. FESLER: I think that is the right interpretation.

PROFESSOR HATTON: You left the impression right now that you didn't intend the committee to inquire into future finances. That raises the question as to whether someone wants to make a motion to start some work for the immediate meeting of the needs of the League.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will read the resolution in order that you may determine what you have done and reconsider it if you are dissatisfied. (The chair reads resolution.) That is what you have done, gentlemen. What do you now wish to do?

PROFESSOR MUNRO: Is it necessary to have any such motion? The council, I take it, has full power to appoint any such committee. Why should it not appoint a

committee to raise money if money is needed rather than have it done in the general meeting of the League?

MR. FESLER: I think Professor Munro's point is well taken. Your constitution provides that the executive committee shall take care of the appointments of all committees. It is a question that can be handled much better in the quiet counsels of the council than in the general meetings of the League.

THE SECRETARY: Why wouldn't it be wise, then, instead of postponing the report of this particular committee here until a year hence, to have this committee if it can be gotten together, present its report to the council so that the council can, when it comes to consider the question of finances, know what the recommendations of this particular committee are? This practically postpones it for a year because it says "and make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting." May I suggest that it be authorized to report to the council if it can so that the council will have the information upon which to pass a larger appeal for financial support? This resolution would carry the matter over until next year—a year hence.

PROFESSOR HATTON: It strikes me it would be utterly impossible for any committee to carry through any work there laid down in a short period. That resolution contemplates a rather long and unquestionably thorough investigation and I don't see how such a committee, no matter how actively they would work, could report within six months. That is a big job to undertake and if anyone suggested that particular committee be saddled with the problem of the immediate finances of the League, I should object, myself, because it would detract from the main work that it was intended to do.

On the other hand, I am thoroughly in harmony with the idea of having some committee deal at once with the immediate financial problems of the League, whether that committee be appointed by the council or suggested at this meeting—I don't care. I think Mr. Munro's suggestion that the council do it is proper.

DR. WILCOX: Is it a fact or is it not that some special effort must be made to meet the League's financial needs for the balance of this year?

THE SECRETARY: Yes.

DR. WILCOX: Then it seems to me that without conflicting with either Mr. Fesler's resolution or the action taken by the council, a committee could be appointed either by the council or the president for the purpose of raising sufficient funds to meet the immediate financial needs. I agree with what has been said that this committee authorized by Mr. Fesler's resolution ought not to be saddled with the actual work of raising money, especially it ought not to be saddled with the work of raising money for immediate purposes. I understand it was for a general survey of the League's activities and the plans for the future which could be presented to the League a year from now and would be very difficult to complete before that time.

PROFESSOR MUNRO: I would like to say if it would help to clear up the matter—as a member at the meeting this afternoon I would be very glad to make a motion that the council appoint a finance committee to take care of that.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now welcome the report of the chairman of the executive committee.

M. N. BAKER: It is always interesting, I think, to the members of the League to know something about the progress of the National Municipal League Series. Statement under date of November 17 shows total sales of the various books in the series which amount to about fifteen thousand volumes, which seems to be very gratifying indeed and is an evidence that one of the lines of activity of the League seems to be highly creditable to the organization and helpful to municipal government generally. Two new manuscripts are in the hands of publishers, one on "Expert City Government" and the other "Our New Municipal Program," the latter having been delayed by the illness of one of the members who was to contribute a portion of it.

The various committee reports have

been read so it is unnecessary to go over them. Perhaps just a word might be said in regard to the feeling of the executive committee as has been brought out from time to time in the discussions relating to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. All members of the committee, I am sure I can say with certainty, feel as has already been echoed here on the floor by several, that the REVIEW is one of the very most essential parts of the work of the League. Instead of discontinuing it or cutting down in size, materially, speaking now from my own viewpoint, I should say we should make a drive for publishing the REVIEW oftener and make it a more efficient organ of municipal government in this country.

It was with some such idea in view that we changed the frequency of publication so that it is now issued once in two months instead of once in three months. In order to be the effective force that it ought to be and that the country needs, the REVIEW should be published at least monthly. I look forward confidently to the time when we can establish a weekly review. Then we can discuss current questions, take up editorial attitudes and really contribute towards shaping the opinion of the country in regard to questions of municipal government.

MR. CHILDS: While I was asleep this morning the committee on nominations turned in its report, I take it, and the report itself was drawn up while I was asleep in New York some time ago. I want to reopen that just a moment to suggest that the name of Mayo Fesler ought to be on the new council and to move that his name be added. He is one of the most active members we have and I don't know why it has not been there. I think it ought to be and I think we all agree it ought to be there.

MR. FESLER: You already have one representative from Cleveland who makes as much noise as necessary—Mr. Hatton.

The motion was put and carried.

THE SECRETARY: I have a telegram from our very dear friend—I was going to say "old" friend—Lieutenant Shaw, dated Norfolk, November 21.

"Voters approved new charter for Nor-

folk yesterday by over two thousand majority, the vote being nearly three to one in its favor."

That was a city-manager charter modeled perhaps more definitely upon the League's Model City Charter than any other instrument that has thus far been adopted. (Applause.)

Adjournment.

The business meeting having adjourned, the general session was convened, with Vice-President J. Horace McFarland in the chair.

Dr. Delos F. Wilcox presented a report from the committee on franchises entitled "Recent Developments in the Public Utilities Field," which will be published in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Then followed a discussion of "Executive or Legislative Budgets," Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland of Boston maintaining that the executive should frame the budget, and Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick of Madison, Wisconsin, that the legislature should frame the budget. This discussion which was participated in by Harvey S. Chase, Boston, R. P. Farley, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Prof. Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Dr. Jesse D. Burks, Los Angeles, and J. Herman Knisely of Harrisburg, Pa., will be summarized for a future number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

#### THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

*Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 3.30 p.m.*

Vice-President Richard S. Childs, New York, in the chair.

This session was devoted to a consideration of the consolidation of city and county and consisted of the following papers: "How Baltimore Succeeds without County Government," S. S. Field, city solicitor of Baltimore; "The Consolidated City and County of Denver," by Prof. William B. Guthrie of the College of the City of New York; "Consolidation Problems in California," by George B. Sikes, and "Urban-Rural Consolidation in Europe," by Pro-

fessor William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota.<sup>1</sup>

The question of county government was considered further at an informal conference held in the evening, the general results of which are to be embodied in a statement by the recently formed committee on county government.

JOHN F. PUTMAN, *Milwaukee*: I have been asked to present this resolution for the consideration of the meeting:

WHEREAS, the United States is now engaged in a war to make the world safe for democracy, and

WHEREAS, it is the primary purpose of the organizations here assembled in conference to advance democratic government to its highest possible state of efficiency by improving governmental organizations and methods through research and co-operation with public officials; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, that the executive secretary of this conference be instructed to offer to the proper federal authorities the co-operation and services of the organizations here assembled for any special service which in the opinion of the federal authorities they may be peculiarly qualified to perform.

I may say that the occasion of this is to call the federal authorities' attention to the fact that our organizations represent men who have had experience and are qualified through that experience to work with and secure the co-operation of public officials.

THE CHAIRMAN: By the executive secretary of this conference do you mean the secretary of the National Municipal League?

MR. PUTMAN: Yes. I understand this is to be presented to the city managers and also to the conference of governmental research agencies.

THE CHAIRMAN: This might more properly have come before the business session of our League this morning when we were organized for discussion of business, but the chair offers no objection to the consideration of the measure at this time. What is your pleasure?

PROFESSOR HATTON: I believe its adop-

tion has been moved. I second the motion.

DR. WILCOX: What does that resolution mean? Does it mean these organizations are practically to offer their services to the federal government with the idea of suspending the work that they are now doing and devoting all their energies to any particular function which the government may think we might perform in connection with the war? If so, this meeting would certainly have no authority to pass such a resolution for the National Municipal League, I should think.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course a meeting like this that is assembled for the discussion of papers has no authority to bind the League to a policy when the members of the convention are not aware that business is to be transacted at this place and hour.

MR. RANCK: I move that that matter be referred to the council of the League.

MR. FESLER: I hope that resolution will not prevail, but that the original resolution will—not that the order of business shall not come before the council but it is so entirely appropriate a resolution that it seems to me that we might set aside the usual method of procedure and adopt it. Dr. Wilcox's suggestion that it might take us out of our regular line of work I don't believe is a correct interpretation. The idea is not that we suspend our activities but that we are willing to do everything we can in the present situation. I hope the resolution will be adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

Adjourned.

#### THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

*Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 8 p.m.*

#### COUNTY GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

An informal conference of the committee was held at Detroit on Thursday evening, November 22. This conference was attended not only by committeemen, but by members of the League who were interested in the subject. Various phases of the situation were discussed as brought

<sup>1</sup> It is the hope and desire of the editor to publish several of these papers in an early issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

up by those present, and by letters of those who were not able to attend. It was brought out that considerable intensive study had been done in Westchester county, New York, Cumberland county, Maryland, and Frederick county, Virginia. It was decided that Mr. Otho G. Cartwright, who presided over the meeting, and Mr. Richard S. Childs should be requested to prepare a draft of a statement to be sent to all members of the committee, setting forth the points to be considered, this statement to outline the situation as it existed in most of the counties of the country, and to suggest a constructive program for the relief of present conditions.

The committee consists of: Prof. Charles A. Beard, New York; Prof. Edward C. Branson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Franklin N. Brewer, Philadelphia; John E. Brindley, Ames, Iowa; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Otho G. Cartwright, White Plains, N. Y.; Fred W. Catlett, Seattle, Wash.; Richard S. Childs, New York; Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo, Mich.; George H. Dunlop, Los Angeles, Cal.; Hon. William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.; H. S. Gilbertson, New York; LeRoy Hodges, Richmond, Va.; Hon. Morton D. Hull, Chicago; Prof. Herman G. James, University of Texas; Prof. Chester Lloyd Jones, Madison, Wis.; Dr. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Percy V. Long, San Francisco, Cal.; Prof. Howard L. McBain, Columbia University; Albert McC. Matthewson, New Haven, Conn.; Prof. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago; Prof. Samuel P. Orth, Ithaca, N. Y.; Hon. Arthur N. Pierson, Westfield, N. J.; Lawson Purdy, New York City; Mark L. Requa, Oakland, Cal.; Herbert R. Sands, New York; Dr. Isaac Sharpless, Haverford, Pa.; Seward C. Simons, Los Angeles, Cal.; George C. Sikes, Chicago; Elvin Swarthout, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Prof. Frank A. Updyke, Hanover, N. H.; Dr. Joseph H. Willetts, Delaware county, Pa.; Hon. Lewis R. Works, Los Angeles, Cal.; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia; John W. Ziegler, Ridley Park, Pa.

## FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

*Hotel Statler, Friday, November 23, 1917,  
10 a.m.*

W. D. Lighthall, K.C., in the chair.

The first subject for discussion at this session was "Training City Managers." It was introduced by Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids. He was followed by Dr. William H. Allen, director of the Institute for Public Service, New York, who spoke on "Getting Trained Men into Public Service," and following this was a paper by Richard H. Dana, Esq., Cambridge, Mass., president of the National Civil Service Reform League on "Effects of War on a Trained Public Service."<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of the session was devoted to a consideration of "War Time Experiences of English and Canadian Cities," the presiding officer Mr. Lighthall making some introductory remarks.<sup>2</sup> He was followed by Sir George Gibbons of London, Ontario, and Mrs. H. B. Plumptre of Toronto, the secretary of the Canadian Red Cross Society.<sup>3</sup> The paper of Mayor Church of Toronto was presented by title.<sup>4</sup>

## LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

*Hotel Statler, Wednesday, November 21,  
1917*

A joint luncheon was held with the city managers' association to consider the question "Will the City-Manager Form of Government Fit All Cities: Large Cities—Machine Controlled Cities," with President Purdy in the chair. The speakers were Richard S. Childs, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization and vice-president of the National Municipal League, who presented the questions for discussion; Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, Michigan; George B. Harris, chairman of the

<sup>1</sup>The editor hopes to be able to publish this discussion in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

<sup>2</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>The editor hopes to be able to publish the addresses of Sir George Gibbons and Mrs. Plumptre in a future issue.

<sup>4</sup>See vol. vii, p. 23.

Republican county committee of Cuyahoga county, Cleveland; Ossian E. Carr, city manager of Niagara Falls; Dr. Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, and William E. Boynton, recently elected by proportional representation as one of the commissioners of Ashtabula, Ohio. As a part of the discussion an interesting letter from George W. Knox, sometimes known as the father of the city-manager form of government in Niagara Falls, was read. An article embodying the discussion will be prepared for a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

#### LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

*Hotel Stoller, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 12.15 p.m.*

This luncheon was presided over by Judge William F. Connolly of Detroit, and the subject for discussion was "Non-partisan City Government." After some preliminary remarks the presiding officer introduced Richard S. Childs, who introduced the subject. Among the other speakers were Lamar T. Beman, of the department of public welfare, Cleveland; Samuel Baker, city clerk of London, Ontario; Dr. Jesse D. Burks of the Los Angeles bureau of efficiency; Albert Smith Faught, of Philadelphia, and Pliny W. Marsh of Detroit. The chairman also read an interesting letter on the subject of non-partnership in Seattle from C. J. France, Esq., of that city. An article based upon the discussion will appear in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

#### LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

*Hotel Stoller, Friday, November 23, 1917, 12.15 p.m.*

This luncheon was presided over by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton, of Western Reserve University, and discussed the question of "Selling Good Government to the People," F. P. Gruenberg reading a paper on this subject by J. Horace McFarland who was called away from the convention a day earlier than he expected. This was followed by Dr.

D. Frank Garland, director of public welfare, Dayton, Ohio, who spoke on "Humanizing Welfare Reports." The subject then being thrown open for discussion, brief addresses were made by the chairman, Dr. Jesse D. Burks of Los Angeles; S. S. Field, Esq., Baltimore; R. P. Farley, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Edward T. Paxton, University of Texas; Dr. W. H. Allen, New York City; J. Herman Knisely, Harrisburg.

**OLIVER MCCLINTOCK, Pittsburgh:** The National Municipal League held its ninth annual conference in Detroit in 1903. I recognize, besides our worthy Secretary Woodruff, J. Horace McFarland, of Harrisburg; Dr. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Michigan, and Harvey S. Chase of Boston, now present, as having attended that meeting. These veterans in the cause of good city government must be greatly impressed by Detroit's phenomenal growth in population, manufactures and physical development during the comparatively brief period of fourteen years that has elapsed.

From time immemorial this city has always been Detroit, so named from the French word "détroit"—a strait, and we now appropriately speak of her as "The Queen City of the Straits."

In 1679, the intrepid La Salle set up here the French tricolor in the name of Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, and in token of the French possession.

Later still, in 1702, Antoine Cadillac, at the head of fifty soldiers, fifty artisans, some priests and friendly Indians, marched into the settlement and formally founded Detroit as the leading town of the New France.

In 1760, the capitulation to the British, by the French, of Quebec and Montreal, was followed by the surrender of Canada and all of its dependencies, which included New France and Detroit.

This transfer of sovereignty served to foment discontent and hatred of the English among the Indian tribes of the north. Detroit was then the home of Pontiac, the powerful, but treacherous chief of the Ottawas, and the war-chief

of the Confederacy of the Six Nations. They were unsuccessfully united in the widely extended Pontiac Conspiracy, whose purpose was to drive out all white races from the country of the Great Lakes, and to maintain it under Indian domination.

The success of the Revolutionary War, for independence from Great Britain, again changed the nationality of Detroit, and it became the leading settlement in the North West Territory, created by Act of Congress in 1787.

These succeeding sovereignties are symbolically represented on the metal pendant of the beautiful badge provided for the members of the League by the Detroit reception committee. On it are quartered the lilies of France, the lion of Great Britain, and the stars and stripes of the United States.

In 1805, Detroit was utterly consumed by fire, all landmarks being effaced. But this great calamity proved a blessing in disguise in the light of subsequent events. The distressing predicament of the population was solved by an Act of Congress authorizing a "governors and judges commission" to clear up the situation. They employed and collaborated with the noted French engineer, Major L'Enfant (who also made the plan adopted by Congress for the capital city of Washington), in making a new plan for Detroit. Under it, each inhabitant was allotted a town lot. In 1815 Detroit received its charter as a city.

This brief outline of the historical contrasts in Detroit's history may serve to emphasize and make more striking the amazing growth and progress of Detroit during the succeeding one hundred years of its life as an American city.

Its wide streets and avenues, its boulevards without street cars, its public squares and parks, and its provision for a large future development, evince the same remarkable vision and artistic skill, which the great city-planner, L'Enfant, displayed in his plan for the nation's capital city, the most beautiful in the world.

There is in fact a striking similarity in

his plans for the two cities, and both are recognized as classic models by modern city planners. Combined with the good fortune of an admirable city plan, the farsighted and progressive public spirit of its citizens have undoubtedly contributed towards Detroit's remarkable growth in population, manufactures and commerce, and towards the fundamentals of progressive city government and good living conditions, which are necessary to produce a prosperous, contented and happy people.

I offer for adoption by the League, the following resolutions;

*Resolved:* That the hearty thanks of the National Municipal League and its affiliated organizations, namely: the city managers' association; the civic secretaries' association; the association of governmental research agencies; the inter-collegiate civic association and the American Political Science Association, assembled in this twenty-fifth annual conference, be extended to our hospitable hosts, namely:

His Honor, Mayor Oscar B. Marx; the newspapers of Detroit; the bureau of governmental research; the board of commerce; the Detroit real estate board and the Detroit citizens' league, for their generous and sympathetic hospitality, during our conference.

We would make individual and special mention of the indefatigable labors of the Detroit reception committee and Dr. Lent D. Upson, its secretary, in providing for the comfort and enjoyment of the members of the League and its affiliated organizations.

We have come hither from the cities of the east; the south; the Pacific coast; the great middle west, and Canada, to contribute from our political knowledge and experiences to the common forum of discussion we have this week set up in Detroit.

We deeply regret that the end of this delightful and instructive meeting has come, and that we must say goodbye to each other and to our hospitable hosts, the people of Detroit. We return to our respective home cities, with fresh inspiration, a broader vision and renewed zeal in behalf of good city government. We earnestly hope that our conference will not be without profit to the people of Detroit, and help towards the solution of the great crisis now pending in its political history, involving the adoption of a new city charter.

## THE CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

The fourth annual meeting of the city managers' association was held in conjunction with the National Municipal League at Detroit, November 19, 20 and 21. There was one joint session with the National Municipal League at luncheon on Wednesday (*q. v.*) and a roll call and several round tables. Among the subjects discussed were "Ann Arbor's Paving Experience," "City Planning for Small Cities," "Practical Problems in Administration," "Now that We Have the City-Manager Plan, What Are We Going to Do With It."

The address of President O. E. Carr will be found on page 45 of this issue of the **NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW**.<sup>1</sup>

Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, Mich., was elected president, and Harrison Gray Otis, city manager of Beaufort, S. C., was elected secretary-treasurer of the association for the ensuing year. The latter in a communication to the city managers of the country said:

In addition to the proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the association, held in Detroit last month, we hope to publish the gist of good things turned loose in the research bureau conference, on accounting, budget making and kindred subjects. Most of all, and here is where you enter, we want a brief, pointed "achievement report" from every manager in the country, only 50 to 100 words, hitting the highest spots of your city's problems and progress under the new plan, since its adoption. Also, we want the correct name and salary of each manager, the name and present population of your city and the date the new plan went into effect. Every manager is a member of the association, active or prospective. Active members' dues are \$5, payable now. Prospective members may become active by payment of the \$5 fee for the current year. The immediate co-operation of all managers is asked, to make this report a success.

## CONFERENCE OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH AGENCIES

Representatives of nineteen governmental research agencies of the United

<sup>1</sup>We are planning to publish in the March issue a summary of the discussion of the city managers at the various sessions of the League and City Managers' Association.

States and Canada participated in the meeting of those agencies which was held at the Hotel Statler at Detroit, November 20, 21, and 22, at the time of the meeting of the National Municipal League. While the discussions were interesting, they were not of as much importance as attaches to the fact that the meeting resulted in a permanent organization under the name "Governmental Research Conference." The conference adopted a definite program for co-operative work, and elected officers to carry out this program.

Such a conference is the natural outgrowth of a number of conferences of the staff members of research organizations which have been held in conjunction with the annual meetings of the National Municipal League. Since the beginning of organized citizen effort to establish effective city government, there have been informal exchanges of experiences between such citizen organizations. Such exchanges by correspondence, supplemented even by occasional meetings of limited groups, could only be incomplete and unsatisfactory. Therefore, a number of directors and staff members of bureaus of municipal research, meeting in Dayton in 1915, suggested the value of a national organization of research agencies and authorized the calling of a conference of such organizations in Springfield, Mass., in 1917. At this latter meeting the association of governmental research agencies was organized, but membership was limited to organizations supported by the voluntary contributions of citizens.

The organizers of the movement appreciated that the restricted membership would limit the usefulness of such an organization, and for that reason created only a temporary organization, elected temporary officers and authorized a committee to draft a plan which would insure practical co-operation among all research groups in the country. This practical plan was presented in detail to the conference meeting with the National Municipal League and the city managers' association in Detroit in November, 1917.

This adopted plan of organization calls for memberships by individuals rather

than by associations and leaves the exact character of that membership to be determined by an executive committee. However, it was the sense of the representatives present that the conference on governmental research should include representatives from citizen research agencies, university research bureaus, civic divisions of commercial organizations, municipal efficiency bureaus and individuals, including city officers, who have an interest in the administrative problems of government.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that in the past decade the emphasis upon improved government has swung from improving fundamental organization to consideration of the problems of administrative methods. In this, field experience is limited and questions are new and recurring. Budget making, municipal accounting, cost accounting, purchasing, reporting, and recording as applied to all of the departments, are sciences which are only being gradually developed through the exchanges of experiences of every group which is engaged in these fields of research. Therefore it is felt that a successful organization must be constituted of every individual who has either specific or general experiences and ideas to contribute.

The plan of operation of this conference as approved at the Detroit meeting provides for the following:

1. The establishment of an executive committee, a part of whom shall not be professionally interested in the work, which committee shall have the general direction of the organization.

2. This executive committee shall create qualifications for membership, determine dues, and extend invitations to qualified individuals for membership in the conference.

3. The executive committee shall determine whether the work to be done by the conference is of such a nature that it shall be supported entirely by membership subscriptions of individuals, or whether it shall be of such a national character that voluntary contributions from interested citizens may be solicited.

4. There shall be arranged a number of conferences dealing with administrative subjects in government, at the head of each to be a chairman. The membership

of such conferences shall be made up of persons interested in particular subjects, and the chairmen are responsible for arranging an interchange of experiences and ideas among members of each conference, and shall call meetings of such conferences at their discretion.

5. At the annual conference of the whole organization to be held each year in conjunction with the National Municipal League, the group conferences shall meet.

6. There shall be published in either a mimeographed or printed form a periodical briefing the experiences of organizations with different administrative problems in government, indicating reports which have been completed by the several organizations, and enumerating work which is under way. In addition, there shall be such personal notes as will serve to keep all the members in touch with the activities of other members of the conference.

7. There shall be established a library where it shall be practically mandatory for members of the conference to deposit all reports not strictly confidential, dealing with their work, in such numbers that they may be borrowed under established regulations by other members of the conference. Incidentally, such a library is the only method by which all the members may be made able to secure reports which are usually in typewritten or mimeographed form and are issued in limited numbers.

8. There shall be arranged a general clearing-house at which the qualifications of each member of the conference shall be retained, with the conditions under which their services may be temporarily secured, in order that interested organizations may have available the services of specialists outside of their own staffs.

9. In its discretion the executive committee shall arrange for the publication of such reports and studies as are of a general character and would be of interest not only to the conference, but to citizens and officials outside of the conference.

10. The executive committee shall use its best efforts to stimulate an interest on the part of citizens and officials in effective city government, and shall co-operate with individuals and groups in the establishment of public efficiency bureaus, research organizations in connection with universities, citizens' leagues, bureaus of governmental research, etc. In this connection it is desirable that a number of capable men be designated who may be secured by interested citizens for speeches upon these and kindred subjects.

The officers elected are: president, Otto Kirchner, president, Detroit bureau of governmental research; vice-president,

Bruce Cornwall, chairman, board of trustees, San Francisco bureau of governmental research; secretary and treasurer, Leroy E. Snyder, director, Rochester bureau of municipal research. The executive committee comprises these three officers and R. P. Farley, secretary, citizens' research league of Winnipeg, and Frank L. Olson, director, Minneapolis bureau of municipal research.

All of the officers of the organization have expressed a very keen interest in the conference, largely because it has possibilities of important constructive results in municipal government, and since its establishment has been a matter of natural rather than stimulated growth. Given a commensurate interest on the part of persons interested in effective city government, the conference is sure of a large measure of success.

OTTO KIRCHNER.

The Detroit program consisted principally of discussions upon topics of technical interest, including bureau relationships, the effects of changing bureau personnel, improvements in budget procedure, municipal surveys, and municipal accounting procedure. The consensus of opinion of those at the conference was that an attempt should be made next year to provide for the discussion of technical subjects by the working conference groups now in process of organization, but that these discussions should be supplemented by general meetings of an inspirational character. In the promotion of such meetings, of more general than special interest, the executive committee will probably co-operate with the National Municipal League and the other associations meeting at the same time.

At the last meeting of the conference, a spirited discussion was had over a publication of one member of the conference in which caustic comment was made upon the work of another member. The discussion ended in the adoption of the following resolution:

It is the sense of this conference that it is contrary to the ethics and the ideals of

the governmental research movement, and injurious to the cause which we serve, for a member of this body to issue any statement attacking the integrity or casting aspersions upon the motives of any organization which is represented by a member in good standing of this body, without giving the facts upon which such statement is based.

There seems to be good reason for believing that the Detroit meeting will be the last at which controversial matter will be discussed by the governmental research agencies at the expense of discussions of constructive programs in which all agencies may unite. The conference developed an unmistakable desire on the part of a large majority of the men in the movement to go forward, united on measures of common helpfulness and value, and this is the big outstanding fact of the Detroit meeting. The executive committee represents all shades of opinion in the body, and is a unit in desiring to serve the common good, in order that the conference may become a powerful agent for genuine service in the United States and Canada. Much stress was laid upon the idealism which should be the motive force of the movement, and it is believed this spirit will dominate future work of the conference, rather than any narrow mechanistic interpretation of the functions of governmental research agencies.

LERoy EDWIN SNYDER.

#### CIVIC SECRETARIES' CONFERENCE

The attendance of the civic secretaries at the annual meeting held this year in Detroit, November 22 and 23, was not so large as in previous years. This was due, as the advance letters indicated, to the exceptionally heavy demands on the time of the members doing civic work in all parts of the country.

The open session, given over to the business of the organization, was held on Thursday morning, November 22, in the Statler Hotel. The secretary's report showed a membership of fifty-four, six having been added and two dropped during the year. New clubs being formed throughout the country have been invited to join as rapidly as their names have

been reported. Letters urging the exchange of bulletins and printed matter were sent from time to time to the members, this exchange being one of the organization's most valuable features. The treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of \$103.82.

It was decided that next year's meeting would be called to meet one or two days prior to the sessions of the National Municipal League so not to conflict as so many of the secretaries desire to attend the meetings of both.

The name of the organization was changed from the Civic Secretaries Committee to the Civic Secretaries Association, the feeling of those present being that this name would better express the meaning of the organization and simplify the work of the membership committee in securing new members.

A booklet was authorized to set forth the work of several of the civic organizations using the material in the article published in the November number of *The*

*American City*, with some changes to be made by a special committee appointed by the president.

An evening dinner session was held in the Hotel Statler. Short talks were made by Richard S. Childs, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Prof. A. R. Hatton and W. J. Donald. All of the speakers brought out the need of the unremitting work of our organizations to keep people interested in civic betterment, as such problems do not cease while the minds of so many are turned to the war. Discussion followed by the members present of many of the matters of membership, speakers, dues, etc., of vital interest to all secretaries.

The nominating committee appointed at the morning session reported the following for the ensuing term: President, Addison L. Winship, Boston; treasurer, H. Marie Dermitt, Pittsburgh; secretary W. Frank Gentry, Kansas City; and they were duly elected.

W. FRANK GENTRY,  
*Secretary.*